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# LABOR FEDERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

by

William Kirk.

Dissertation submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## Preface.

The following essay is a study of those national labor organizations in the United States which seek to include under one head a membership representing separate and distinct trades.

The monograph had its origin in connection with an investigation of certain phases of American trade unionism undertaken in the fall of 1902 by the Economic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. In addition to the large amount of original material collected by the Seminary, as constitutions, reports of convention proceedings, official journals, etc., the author has had access to important documents at the head-quarters of various unions. The documentary evidence secured in this way has been supplemented by personal observation and by interviews with prominent labor leaders in the cities of Washington, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, and Denver.

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance received at every stage of the work from Professor Hollander and Dr. Barnett of the Johns Hopkins University.

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## Chapter I.

### HISTORY OF GENERAL FEDERATIONS.

The first stage in labor federation in the United States is the formation of a local organization including trade unions in one locality. As early as 1833, the General Trades' Union of New York with twenty-one societies was active in the labor field. The following year the General Trades' Union of Boston adopted a constitution which was later ratified by the sixteen local unions in the federation.(1) Aside from this activity and the formation of similar unions in a few large cities like Baltimore and Philadelphia slight effort was made by trade unionists before the Civil War to organize the various branches of labor under one government.

The nearest approach to a national federation is represented by the Industrial Congress of the United States which met in New York, October 12, 1845. The convention largely due to the efforts of the New England Workingmen's League and the National Reform Association of New York, elected officers and adopted a declaration of principles.(2)

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(1) Burke, Central Labor Unions, Columbia University Studies, Vol. 12, pp. 28-30.
(2) McNeill, The Labor Movement: The Problem of To-Day, 1887, p.104.

The second Industrial Congress began in New York, June 10, 1847, and included representatives from the states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Illinois and Kansas.(1) Among the prominent objects of the movement were, a shorter work day, reform of the land traffic, and cooperation.(2)

Little was attempted and less achieved in labor federation between 1850 and 1864. At the twelfth annual session of the National Typographical Union,(3) 1864, a resolution was adopted instructing the delegates present to recommend to the local unions of their cities and towns the formation of central federations(4) "for the mutual protection and support of the working men of all trades, and the National Typographical Union hereby declares itself heartily in favor of the movement."(5)

In 1865, twelve men independently of any trade unions to which they belonged, met in Louisville for the purpose of discussing plans for a general labor convention,

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(1) McNeill, The Labor Movement: The Problem of To-day, (1887, p.104.
(2) Ibid., p. 111.
(3) Now the International Typographical Union. This organization formed in 1850, has had the longest continuous existence of any national trade union in the United States.
(4) The text of the resolution has 'trades unions', but 'federations' was evidently meant.
(5) National Typographical Union, 17th Session, 1864, p.60

and after deliberation issued a call for a meeting to be held in Baltimore 1866.[1] During the same year, 1865, the president of the Bricklayers' Association in his annual report to the convention declared: "Another subject of importance to which I would call your attention and which demands prudent legislation is the eight-hour system. During the past year our organization has not been alone in the agitation for the reduction of the hours of labor, for we find the Iron Molders, Machinists and Blacksmiths, Ship Carpenters and Caulkers, and the Coachmakers, have all placed their organizations on record in favor of the movement. I would therefore recommend that you give to your Executive Officers the power to act in concert with all other labor organizations of the country to assist in carrying to a final issue the great question that we are all contending for."[2]

From the foregoing it seems clear that the labor unions of the country directly after the Civil War were desirous of forming a close alliance among themselves in order to carry out other than strictly trade policies. On

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(1) Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, 1889, pp. 62-64.
(2) Proceedings of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Associations of Bricklayers, 1865. President's Report.

the 26th of March, 1866, a conference of the various national trade union presidents took place in New York City, in which it was decided to hold a national convention in Baltimore the following August.(1) A little later, a call addressed to the workingmen of the United States and signed by William Harding, John Reid and John H. F ay, stated that the eight hour movement had an importance demanding concerted and harmonious action, and that all trade unions should send representatives to the coming convention on the basis of two delegates for each trades assembly and one for every local organization.(2)

On August 20th, the National Labor Union, the name given to the new organization, met in Front St. Theatre, Baltimore, elected a full set of officers, and adjourned without adopting a formal platform or making any provision for raising revenue.(3)

The National Labor Union re-assembled in 1867 at Chicago and again in 1868 at New York, showing considera-

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(1) The International Journal, Vol. I., No. 1., April, 1866, p. 19.
(2) International Journal, July, 1866, p.149.
(3) Ibid., Sept. 1866, pp. 178-182.
As one member described it, the delegates built a splendid track and locomotive, supplied the engine, with numerous assistants, and neglected the wood and water to get up steam.

ble vigor in agitating the national eight-hour law.[1] Other important questions discussed in the convention were, labor leagues, apprentices, cooperation, convict labor, public lands and political organization.[2]

By 1869 the National Union revealed unmistakable signs of decay, and the demand arose for a national federation possessed of greater vitality and aggressiveness. Although conventions met in 1869, 1870 and 1871, the interest steadily waned, until in 1872 a final effort resulted in the nomination of an independent candidate for President of the United States.[3] Before the death of the National Labor Union, however, signs of a new movement were displayed in other directions for at the fifth annual convention of the Bricklayers National union, 1870, the following resolution was adopted as recommended by the Committee on the

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(1) The National Labor Union claimed the credit for the passage of the Eight-hour law by Congress in 1868, which read: "Eight Hours shall constitute a days' work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics, who may be employed by or on behalf of the Government of the United States."

(2) National Typographical Union, Sixteenth Annual Session, 1868, p.37.

(3) Although the National Labor Union lived but a few years, it showed in that brief period the possibilities of a national federation embracing all trades. The following is taken from a prominent journal:

The National Labor Union was a power in its time and its influence secured the passage of the National Eight-Hour Law. It brought also prominently before the public the necessity of a National Bureau of Labor Statistics and other questions of interest to labor. The Bureaus of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Illinois and other states may be

president's report:

"Whereas it is self-evident that in union there is strength,

Therefore, be it resolved, That we, the bricklayers of the U.S. in convention assembled, do instruct the President of this Union to correspond with all the various national and international unions or assemblies for the purpose of effecting an organization of a national trades union to be composed of delegates from each national union or assembly, whose duty it shall be to choose officers, make laws, etc., for the benefit of all unions or assemblies working under their jurisdiction as represented."(1)

This action apparently bore no immediate fruit, and it was not until two years later that a further move was contemplated. A call issued in 1872 announced that "there will be an informal meeting of the Presidents of the National and International Trades' organizations of America in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 19th of November, 1872, for the purpose of taking the initiative steps looking to the formation of an Industrial Congress of North America to be com-

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traced as the result of the influence exercised by the National Labor Union.Cigar Makers' Journal, Oct. 10, 1881.
(1) Record of Proceedings 5th Annual Convention Bricklayers National Union, 1870.

posed of bona fide representatives of bona fide labor organizations." On July 19, 1873, the convention assembled in Cleveland, remaining in session long enough to elect officers and adopt tentative plans for the future.(1)

Meanwhile, the individual unions interested in a national congress did not continue inactive, and put forth considerable effort to enlist all trade organizations in the movement. For instance, a letter from the president of the Iron Molders' International Union to the president of the International Typographical Union states that many of the thoughtful men in the trade union movement had decided to form a national trade assembly or industrial congress "with the sole proviso that such an association must be entirely free from political influences(2) and composed of delegates from bona fide trade and labor unions."(3)

The following circular announced the contemplated action:

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(1) Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, pp. 108-110.
(2) No doubt to ward off the danger into which the National Labor Union had run in 1872.
(3) International Typographical Union Proceedings, 21st Annual Session, 1873, p. 13.

Industrial Congress of the United States,

Cleveland, O., February 2, 1874.

To all Labor Organizations in the United States:

On Tuesday, April 14, 1874, the second session of the Industrial Congress will convene in the city of Rochester, N.Y. Every organization having for its object the amelioration of the condition of those who labor for a living is entitled to one representative upon payment of two cents for each of its members, for the purpose of defraying necessary expenses •••••

The events of the past few months have fully demonstrated the imperative necessity of a general unity of action among the toilers of the land ••••• Matters of the utmost importance to all workingmen will be considered at the session, among others, the advisibility of forming an organization of labor similar in its form, intents and purposes to the Patrons of Husbandry; the applicability of the federative principle to trade unions, cooperation; arbitration; prison labor, etc.

Yours in the cause of labor's redemption,

Robert Schilling,

Pres. Ind. Congress, Room 4, Par. building, Cleveland, O (1)

(1) Iron Molders' Journal, Feb. 1874, p.278.

On the day appointed representatives from the various unions met in Rochester, N.Y., but owing to the industrial depression of the preceding year many of the unions had suffered financially, so that only sixty-three delegate were present. Among the unions represented were the machinists and blacksmiths, the coopers, the shoemakers, the tailors, the cigar makers, the iron molders, the printers, and the miners; and among other organizations were, the Industrial Brotherhood, and the Sovereigns of Industry.(1) A declaration of principles was adopted similar to the one drawn up at the Cleveland session with these additional demands: A law to compel corporations to pay their employes once a month; a mechanic 's lien law; a law to abolish the contract system on national, state and municipal work; a system of cheap transportation; and a law to provide for arbitration between employers and emplcyes.(2)

A circular dated May 1, 1875 and sent from the Executive Department Industrial Congress of the United States, Indianapolis, Indiana, announced to all trade and labor or-

(1) Iron Molders' Journal, April, 1874, p.332.
(2) To aid in the work of organization, A. C. Cameron of the Workingmen's advocate of Chicago, offered in the name of a few labor sympathizers a prize of $100 for the best essay on the formation of labor federations. Iron Molders' Journal, April, 1874.

ganizations that an important session of the Congress had just adjourned after adopting a platform which favored the establishment of a just monetary system, a bureau of labor statistics to ascertain the true conditions of labor and other reforms. On the 4th of July, 1876, the Congress proposed to inaugurate an eight-hour day campaign, and in order to make the movement successful urged the closer union of all trade and labor organizations.

Where sufficient unions or lodges existed in any one town or country, local industrial councils composed of delegates from each union were contemplated; and in each state or territory, a state council or assembly would be the unit of representation to the Industrial Congress. This plan which was submitted to the various labor organizations did not meet with favor (1) and never reached any prominence.

In 1877 the International Labor Union with branches in 17 states seems to have displayed some activity. Among the plans proposed were, the formation of an amalgamated union of laborers, the organization of all workingmen along trade lines, a general fund for benefit and protective purposes. (2)

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(1) For instance, the Bricklayers' National Union at its convention of 1876 refused to endorse the movement. (Proceedings, 1876, pp. 19-21) and the Typographical Union likewise passed a resolution at the session of 1875 disapproving of its subordinate unions taking part in any Industrial Congress. — Proceedings 22nd Session, 1875, p.62.
(2) McNeil, The Labor Movement, pp.161-162.

This organization in common with its predecessors failed to supply the need of the unions for national federation and never had the support of a large membership.

From this time, however, the movement toward general federation took more definite shape. Not only the national officials of labor organizations, but the local members as well declared for a closer alliance of all trades (1). One letter typical of the period was sent by the president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers to the president of the Cigar Makers' International, suggesting a plan to federate all existing labor organizations.

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(1) Detroit, Mich., May 7th, 1877

Mr. Geo. Hurst, Int. Pres.,
Cigar Makers' International Union.

Dear Sir:

Our Union passed a resolution inviting all local unions to take under consideration the prospects of the amalgamation of all trades' unions either on international or national basis.

We would like to have other unions discuss this matter and find out the best and most practicable mode of furthering our ends.

Yours Fraternally,
E. S. Stone,
Cor. Sec. (pro tem) C. M. U.
No. 22.

Cigar Makers' Official Journal,
June, 1877.

On account of its important bearing it is reproduced almost in full.

National Lodge

Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1878.

A. Strasser, President Cigar Makers' International Union.

Dear Sir:

I desire through you, to call the attention of your organization to the subject of "Federation of Trades' Unions" which is now engaging the attention of many of our best labor societies.

At the late session of the National Lodge Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the U.S. the subject was considered and the following resolution unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Delegates of the A.A. of I. and S.W. of the U.S. in Convention assembled, at Columbus, O., do instruct our national lodge officers to take the initiatory steps toward forming a federation of trades' unions, that they shall have power to open correspondence with the presiding and executive officers of all trades' unions through out the U.S. for the purpose of perfecting such arrangements as will speedily place the men of all trades beyond

the power of capitalists or monopolies, either to starve them into submission or force them to accept less than a "fair day's wages for a fair day's work."

***** Should it meet with your approbation, the officers of our Association will be glad to meet your representatives at such time and place as may be selected by mutual arrangement.

Hoping for an early reply,

I remain yours fraternally,

Jos. Bishop,

Pres. A.A. of J. and S. W.

(Note.) Cigar Makers' Official Journal,

June 10, 1878.

That permanent federation was in the minds of labor leaders is evidenced by this action of the Iron and Steel Workers as well as the interest shown by other national unions. Thus the Typographical Union at the annual session of 1878 decided to enter into correspondence with other unions, to arrange for a conference with national officials and report the result of this activity to the next convention.(1) In 1879 the corresponding secretary of the Interna-

(1) Proceedings 28th Annual Session, 1878, International Typographical Union, pp. 31,34.

tional Union was instructed to open correspondence with the different unions with the view of forming an international amalgamated union.(1) A further step was taken in the convention of 1880, when invitations were extended to all national and international trades unions to send delegates to a Continental Federation of Trades, which should hold annual meetings at such time and place as selected by the regular sessions of the federation.(2) Since most of the organizations addressed took no action on the communication, and the Cigar Makers' Union alone responded to the call, it was decided to abandon the project for the time. The president of the Typographical union declared in his report to the session of 1881,- "the subject is of such importance that we can afford to suffer in patience numerous failures if as an ultimate result the mechanics of the United States and Canada can be brought into closer and common organization for the common good."(3)

Meanwhile a movement entirely distinct from the strict trade union movement had developed parallel with the national federation of trade and labor unions.

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(1) Proceedings, 27th Annual Session, 1879, pp. 31,39.
(2) " 28th " " International Typographical Union, 1880, p.64.
(3) Ibid., 29th Annual Session, 1881, pp. 12-13,25; also Cigar Makers' Journal, Oct. 10, 1880.

As early as 1861, Uriah S. Stephens, then a garment cutter in Philadelphia, wrote to a friend in New York City: "I speak to you of unions as they now exist. To be candid with you, I will say I have little or no faith in their power to raise the toiler to the position he should occupy. They are too narrow and too circumscribed in their field of operations. I do not claim to be gifted with the power of prophecy, but I can see ahead of me an organization that will cover the globe. It will include men and women of every craft, creed, and color. **** Its groundwork will be secrecy, its rule obedience, and its guiding star mutual assistance."

In the spring of 1867 this garment cutter, a member of a Philadelphia trade union, started to put his ideas into practice by interesting his associates in a new movement. On December 9, 1869, the garment cutters' union of Philadelphia disbanded and divided the funds in the treasury among the members in good standing. At the close of this final meeting, a secret society was organized by U. S. Stephens and a few of his associates under the local title of Garment Cutters' Assembly, and the general name of the Knights of Labor. At a subsequent meeting in February, 1870, an initiation fee of $1.00 was established and plans

were laid for future activity.

The early efforts to increase the membership, partly due to the secrecy maintained, did not meet with much success, and in 1871 the first annual report contained sixty-nine members in good standing.(1) Soon after the formation of Local Assembly, No. I., the ship carpenters and calkers organized an assembly and entered the Order as Local Assembly No. 2. From this time the growth of the Knights of Labor became more rapid, and before the year 1875 fifty-two locals had sprung up in Philadelphia, and about two hundred and fifty in other places.(2) In the latter part of 1873 a demand arose for a central organization to act as a medium of communication among the local assemblies, and on Christmas Day of that year, District Assembly, No. 1, consisting of representatives from various local assemblies, was organized in Philadelphia.

On the 3rd of July, 1878, in response to a call sent out by District Assembly No. 1, delegates from the several locals met in Philadelphia, adopted a constitution and se-

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(1) Historical Sketch of the Knights of Labor, by Carroll D. Wright, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Jan., 1887, p. 145.

(2) Ibid., p.146.

lected for the national organization the name of National Labor League of North America. A circular, dated Aug. 3rd, 1877, announced to the membership that a convention for the purpose of forming a central Assembly would be held in Reading, Pa., January 1, 1878, and invited all local assemblies to send properly accredited delegates.

The convention met, organized the first general assembly and elected the following officers: Grand Master Workman, Uriah S. Stephens; Grand Worthy Foreman, Ralph Beaumont; Grand Secretary, Charles H. Litchman; Grand Assistant-Secretary, John G. Laning; Grand Treasurer, Thomas M. Gallagher.(1) Thirty-two members were present, including nine miners, four shoemakers, four machinists, two glass blowers, one molder, one engineer, one printer, one steam boiler maker, one nail packer, one carpenter, one cooper, one garment cutter, one blacksmith, one teacher, one glass worker and two locomotive engineers.(2)

The preamble of the Constitution adopted at Reading, 1878, and bearing a close resemblance to the one put forth by the Industrial Brotherhood of 1874, contained the following objects: "To bring within the folds of organiza-

(1) Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1878, pp. 24,26.

(2) Ibid., 1878, p.26.

tion every department of productive industry, making knowledge a standpoint for action, and industrial, moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness."

"To secure to the toilers a proper share of the wealth they create"; the establishment of bureaus of Labor Statistics; cooperative institutions, productive and distributive; the reserving of public lands for actual settlers; abrogation of all laws that bear unequally on labor and capital; laws to compel corporations to pay their employes every week; a mechanics' lien law; abolition of the contract system on national, state, and municipal works; a system of arbitration in labor disputes; prohibition of child labor under 14 years of age in workshops, mines, and factories; abolition of contract prison labor; equal pay for men and women; the eight-hour work day; and a national circulating medium, issued without the intervention of banks, which shall be legal tender in payment of debts.(1)

In the next two years, 1879-1880, the Order held conventions and displayed considerable activity in organizing new locals; but it did not satisfy the advocates of

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(1) Constitution of the General Assembly, 1878, Preamble.

a national federation of trades, since the Knights of Labor had developed in some respects as a federation of labor unions and not of trade unions.(1) Thus we find the Committee on Trades Federation reporting to the 29th session of the International Typographical Union, 1881, in favor of sending a representative to the National Labor Amalgamated Union which convened in Terre Haute, August 2d, 1881. The most important action taken at the Terre Haute conference seems to have been the preparation of a call for a subsequent convention to be held at Pittsburg, November 19,1881.

International Trades Union Congress,

Terre Haute, Ind.,

September 15th,1881.

To all Trades and Labor Unions of the

United States and Canada -

Fellow Workmen:

The time has now arrived for a more perfect combination of Labor, one that will concentrate our forces so as to more successfully cope with concentrated capital.

We have numberless trades unions, trades' assemblies or councils, and various other local national and interna-

(1) The Knights of Labor as will be seen, disregarded trade boundaries in a large measure, and organized all wage earners under one central government. - See Structure of General Federations.

tional labor unions, all engaged in the noble task of elevating and improving the condition of the working classes. But great as has been the work done by these bodies, there is vastly more that can be done by a combination of all these organizations, in a federation of trades.

In Great Britain and Ireland, annual trades union congresses are held; France and other countries have also similar gatherings. The work done by these assemblages of workmen speaks more in their favor than a volume of other arguments ••••••

A National Trades' Union Congress can prepare labor measures, and agree upon laws they desire passed by the Congress of the United States, and a Congressional Labor Committee, after the manner of the Parliamentary Committee of Trades Unions in England, could be elected, to urge and advance legislation at Washington on all such measures, and report to the various trades •••••• A federation of this character can be organized with a few simple rules, and no salaried officers. The expenses of its management will be trivial and can be provided for by the Trades Union Congress.

Impressed with the necessity of such a federation, and the importance of an International Trades Union Con-

gress, to perfect the organization, we, the undersigned delegates, in a preliminary national convention assembled at Terre Haute, Ind. held Aug. 2nd, 1881, do hereby resolve to issue the following call:

"That all international and national unions, trades assemblies or councils, and local trades or labor unions, are hereby invited to send delegates to an international union congress, to be held in Pittsburg, Pa., on Tuesday, November 15th, 1881. Each local union will be entitled to one delegate, for one hundred members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional 500 members, or major part thereof; also, one delegate for each international or national union, and one delegate for each trades assembly or council. (Signed) National Tanners and Curriers' Union Lake Seamen's Union, International Typographical Union, St. Louis Trades and Labor Assembly, I. M. U. of Springfield, Ohio, Cleveland Trades' Assembly, Indianapolis Trades' Assembly, I. M. U. of Dayton, O., Terre Haute Amalgamated Labor Union."[1]

[1] Cigar Makers' Official Journal, October 10, 1881.

In response to this call delegates from various trade and labor organizations met in Pittsburg, November 15, 1881

anf formed the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions with John Jarrett, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, as temporary chairman. A constitution consisting of nine articles was adopted together with a platform of thirteen sections. Among the objects stated were: the passage of laws in state legislatures and in congress for the incorporation of trades unions and similar labor organizations; compulsory education of children; prohibition of children from working under the age of fourteen; uniform apprentice laws; an effective national eight-hour law; restriction of the order or truck system; a mechanic's lien law; repeal of all conspiracy laws against organized labor; a bureau of labor statistics; protection to American industry; a law to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract; and proper representation of all trades and labor organizations in law making bodies. (1)

A secretary and legislative committee were elected who chose from among themselves a chairman, first and second vice-chairman, and treasurer for the ensuing year. W.H. Foster was the first secretary, and Richard Powers, Samuel Gompers, Charles F. Burgman, and Alex. C. Rankin were the other officers respectively.

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(1) Proceedings 1st Annual Session Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, 1881, pp. 3-4.

For several years thereafter the history of the federation movement in the United States centres in the relations between the Knights of Labor and the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions. As each organization grew stronger and more aggressive keen rivalry developed. That a feeling of antagonism was present is shown from a communication addressed by the Federation to the subordinate unions declaring that "open trades unions national and international can and ought to work side by side with the Knights of Labor, and this would be the case were it not for men either over-zealous or ambitious who busy themselves in attempting the destruction of existing unions to serve their own whims." (1)

Again, the attitude of the trade unionists toward the Knights of Labor may be seen from a different point of view. A typical article in a prominent trade journal referred to the federation movement of 1881-1882 as in "a chaotic state pulled and dragged in all directions." "Some advise us, the article continues, "to adopt new systems of organizations defying practical experience and common sense. the representatives of the bona fide trades unions, not of so-called labor clubs, are true to their mission, they will

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(1) McGuire, The American Federation of Labor - Its History and Aims, p.4.

make a bold stand against all inferior systems of organization."(1)

On the other hand, trade union officials were not unanimous in their opposition to the Knights of Labor as a labor organization. The president of the International Typographical Union, for instance, recommended in his annual report that steps be taken to bring about a better understanding with the Knight of Labor. "We cannot afford to be anything else but friends," he said, "we are aiming at the same object, and we should court the good will of the Knights of Labor as they are a power in our time of need,- ever ready to extend a helping hand. ..."(2)

The year 1886 is the most important period of trade union history in the decade between 1880 and 1890, for in that year the Knights of Labor reached the summit of its power, and the federation of trades received new strength in the formation of the American Federation of Labor.

The continued friction between the Knights of Labor and trades unions led to a conference of trades union officials on May 15, 1886, where certain proposals were drawn up to be submitted the last week in May, 1886, to the spe-

(1) Cigar Makers' Official Journal, November, 1882, p.8.
(2) Proceedings 42nd Annual Session International Typographical Union, 1884. p.12.

cial Session of the General Assembly.(1) As these terms formed the basis of subsequent proposals they are given in full:

THE TREATY

submitted by the trades unions in 1886 to the Special Session of the General Assembly, Knights of Labor, at Cleveland, May 25th 1886.

1. That in any branch of labor having a nation or international organization; the Knights of Labor shall not initiate

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(1) The following is an abstract of the account appearing in the Cigar Makers' Journal for June, 1886, p.7.

The Trade Union Conference met at Philadelphia May 17, 1886, in response to a call issued by P. J. McGuire, General Secretary, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; A. Strasser, President Cigar Makers' Union; P. J. Fitpatrick president Iron Molders' International Union; Josiah Dever, Secretary Granite Cutters' International Union; and W. H. Foster, Secretary of the Federation of Trade and Labor Unions.

After the election of officers, the representative of each national union related the grievances of his particular organization against the Knights of Labor. The general charges were: helping unfair employers in their opposition to the unions, initiation of 'scabs' into the Order, working below the union scale, and ignoring the hours of labor set by the unions.

any person or form any assembly of persons following said organized craft or calling without the consent of the nearest national or international union affected.

2. That no person shall be admitted to the Knights of Labor who works for less than the regular scale of wages fixed by the union of his craft; and that none shall be admitted to membership in the Knights of Labor who has ever been convicted of scabbing, ratting, embezzlement, or any other offense against the union of his trade or calling, until exonerated by the same.

3. The charter of any Knights of Labor assembly of any trade having a national or international union shall be revoked, and the members of the same be requested to join a mixed assembly or form a local union under the jurisdiction of their respective national or international trade union.

4. That any organiser of the Knights of Labor who endeavors to induce trades unions to disband or tampers with their growth or privileges shall have his commission forthwith revoked.

5. That wherever a strike or lockout of any trades union is in progress, no assembly or district assembly of the Knights of Labor shall interfere until settled to the sat-

isfaction of the trades union affected.

6. That the Knights of Labor shall not establish nor issue any trade-mark or label in competition with any trade-mark or label now issued, or that may hereafter be issued by any national or international trades union.(1) No definite action on the treaty was taken at the meeting of the General Assembly, and a further effort to arrive at a mutual understanding was made later in the year. When the Knights of Labor Convention assembled at Richmond, October, 1886, the trade unions officials again protested against the attitude of the Knights toward the unions, notably in the case of the cigar makers, and asked for some assurance that the trade unions thereafter would not be interfered with by the organizers of the Order. The General Assembly replied by forcing all cigar makers who retained their membership in the Cigar Makers' International Union to leave the Order.(2) In consequence of this action the legislative committee of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Union decided to hold the next meeting in Columbus, Ohio, the first week

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(1) Cigar Makers' International Union, June, 1886, p.7.

(2) See The Functions of General Federations. The General Master Workman in his address to the 10th regular Session of the General Assembly held in Richmond, 1886, partly admitted the claim of the trades unions, but declared that the trouble had been greatly magnified and distorted. He recommended that any trade union having a grievance against the Order should submit the matter through its president to the General Master Workman and the executive board of the Order. - Proceedings, General Assembly, 1886, Report

in December, 1886, in order to cooperate with the representatives from various trade unions who had arranged to meet at that time and place. The circular announcing this meeting read as follows:

Cleveland, O. Nov. 10,'86

To the Officers and Members of all trades unions of America:

Fellow Workers:

On May 18, 1886, a conference of the chief officers of various national and international trades unions was held in Philadelphia, Pa., at which 20 national and international unions were represented, and 12 more sent letters of sympathy, tendering their support to the conference. This made at that time 32 national and international trade unions with 367,736 members in good standing ..... The time has now arrived to draw the bonds of unity much closer together between all the trades unions of America. We need an annual trades congress that shall have for its object: ..... an American federation or alliance of all national and international trades union, to aid and assist each oth-

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of the General Master Workman.

er, and furthermore, secure national legislation in the interest of the working people ******

The basis of representation will be: From national or international unions less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates and so on. From each local trades union not having a national or international union one delegate *****

By order of the trades union committee,-

P. J. McGuire, Secretary.

W. Weike, Iron and Steel Workers'

P. F. Fitzpatrick, Iron Molders,

A. Strasser, Cigar Makers,

Chris. Evans, Coal Miners,

P. J. McGuire, Carpenters. (1)

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(1) Cigar Makers' Journal,

November, 1886.

As prearranged, the two conventions met on December 7 and 8, respectively, and the members of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions attended the sessions of the trade union conference in a body. On the third day of the conference, the committee of the whole reported to the Federation that the committee had attended the conference and that all the delegates had been admitted as members thereof. The legislative committee also reported: "Your committee, acting as a conference committee with a like one from the trade unions, beg leave to report that we have met.

1st. The trade union Conference has formed an organization known as the American Federation of Labor with a Constitution better protecting the interests of trades unions.

2nd. We have agreed that all moneys, papers, and effects of the old Federation be turned over to the officers of the new organization and that all per capita tax due the old federation be collected by the new federation.

3rd. That the new organization agrees to print and publish the proceedings and reports of this federation in the official proceedings. Your committee recommend further that the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada do merge into the American Feder-

ation of Labor[1] and request all affiliated bodies to do the same."[2] The report was accepted and the convention adjourned sine die.

From this time the Knights of Labor steadily declined in numerical strength while the American Federation made rapid strides forward, until at the present time the Knights play an inconsiderable part in the labor movement, while the American Federation includes approximately one million, seven hundred thousand members.[3]

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(1) The conventions of 1885, 1887 and 1888 were called the first, second, and third, respectively, of the American Federation; but by order of the convention of 1889 the origin of the Federation is dated from 1881 in all official documents. American Federation of Labor - Ninth Annual Convention, 1889, p.24.

(2) Proceedings - Sixth Annual Session. Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, 1886.

(3) In accordance with a resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1893, the general officers of the Knights of Labor invited representatives from national labor organizations to meet and discuss plans for bringing the different unions "into closer touch with each other." The conference met June 11, 1894, in St. Louis, with the following organizations represented: Locomotive Engineers, Locomotive Firemen, Railway Trainmen, Railway Conductors, Green Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, Farmer's Alliance, American Railway Union, American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor. The resolutions adopted were in substance as follows: a conference to meet semi-annually, composed of representatives from national and international labor organizations on the basis of three members for each organization. Plans were made for the next conference in Washington, February 22, 1895, but nothing farther along this line seems to have been done.

Journal of the Knights of Labor,
June 14, 1894.

## THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION.

In 1896 the Western Federation of Miners,(1) at that time affiliated with the American Federation of Labor had a protracted strike at Leadville, Colorado, which heavily taxed the financial resources of the union. When the annual convention of the American Federation met at Cincinnati in December, the delegates of the Western Federation, Messrs. Boyce and Clifford, appealed to the members for aid. The subsequent report of the executive council adopted by the convention declared, "That we hereby, and to the utmost of our ability, tender them, [the Western Federation of Miners,] the support of the American Federation of Labor and call upon the national and local unions herein affiliated, as well as on our central bodies, to extend to them our moral and financial support."(2) Little further assistance seems to have been given, for the officials of the Western Federation later declared that the financial contributions were scarcely sufficient to cover the expense of canvassing

(1) - See under Industrial Unions.
(2) Report of Proceedings - American Federation of Labor, 1896, pp. 62-63.

for them.[1] Largely on account of this lack of support from eastern unions, the Western Federation of Miners withdrew from the American Federation of Labor and formulated plans for a new federation to comprise the western unions. Accordingly in response to a call sent to the labor unions of the Rocky mountain states and territories, a convention of representatives from various unions met at Salt Lake City, in May, 1898, and formed the Western Labor Union.

Progress during the next two years was slow owing to the small per capita tax which practically prevented effective organizing work; and at the end of that period the total number of charters in operation was only ninety-five.[2] At the convention of 1900 the federation in voting to accept three locals of shoe workers in Massachusetts, departed from the original idea of a western organization and accepted thereafter a number of locals in the east and central west. In May and June, 1901, the annual convention raised the per capita tax from seven cents to ten cents per month, and ordered three cents of this amount to be set aside for organizing purposes only.[3] Although this special fund up to the

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(1) American Labor Union Journal, Nov. 20, 1902.
(2) Western Labor Union, Proceedings 3rd Annual Convention 1900, p.46.
(3) Ibid., 1901, p.66.

convention of 1903 had never been sufficient to meet the expenses, and additional amounts had been appropriated from the general fund, the secretary-treasrer was able to report to the sixth annual convention, 1903, an actual per capita paying membership of nearly 100,000, including 276 unions in 24 states, territories and provinces. (1)

In May and June, 1902, the fifth annual convention changed the name of the federation from the Western Labor Union to the American Labor Union with jurisdiction extending over North America. At the same time a platform was adopted favoring the principles of international socialism and committing the federation to a definite policy in regard to future political activity. (2)

"Whereas, the time has come for undivided, independent working class political action; therefore, be it - Resolved, That the representatives of the American Labor Union do hereby declare in favor of International Socialism and adopt the platform of the Socialist party of America in its entirety as the political platform and program of said

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(1) Proceedings 6th Annual Convention American Labor Union 1903, p.23; American Labor Union Journal, Sept. 3, 1903; Besides local unions and state federations there are at present four international unions chartered by the American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the International Musical Union - Voice of Labor, March, 1905.

(2) Out of a total vote of 69 only 13 voted against the

organization.

Resolved, That we earnestly appeal to all members of the American Labor Union and to the working classes in general to be governed by the provisions of this resolution.

Platform of Socialist Party of America -

1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening the hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the

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resolution.

government and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representation by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class."(1)

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(1) American Labor Union, Preamble, 1903, pp. 4-6, and Proceedings, 5th Annual Convention, 1902, pp. 18-19, 61.

The following year, 1903, this political declaration was reaffirmed,[1] and a new constitution framed to be submitted to the membership for approval.[2] In December, 1903, the revised constitution received a strong endorsement by the referendum vote, and the federation entered upon a new era.

The American Labor Union at the present time differs materially from the other prominent federation, the American Federation of Labor, in three principal ways. It advocates individual political action by labor organization; it has established the principle of industrial autonomy[3] in all branches of the federation; and it has introduced the initiative and referendum together with the imperative mandate to govern all legislation.[4]

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(1) Proceedings of the 6th Annual Convention, 1903, pp. 92-95.
(2) Proceedings 6th Annual Session, 1903, pp.105-147.
(3) See under Industrial Unions.
(4) Constitution, American Labor Union, 1902, Preamble, Art. I., Sec. 4; Art. II., Sec. 1.

## Chapter II.

## STRUCTURE OF GENERAL FEDERATIONS

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There are at the present time in America three general federations organized on a national scale: the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, and the American Labor Union. Each bears a certain likeness to the other two and at the same time has certain distinct characteristics. In structure the most distinguishing feature is the power granted by constituent divisions to the federal government. The Knights of Labor place supreme authority in the General Assembly which exercises all power not expressly granted. In the American Federation the governing body is one of delegated powers, and the national unions comprising the federation are independent. Finally, the American Labor Union rests the final authority, not in the general convention, as do the Knights of Labor, nor in the independent national unions as the American Federation, but in the collective membership expressed through the referendum vote.

To understand more clearly these differences, it is desirable to consider in turn the separate divisions of the federal structure.

The Constitution of the Knights of Labor, 1901,

Art. 1., sec. 1., states the composition of the Order to be: A General Assembly which shall issue or cause to be issued charters to Provincial, State, National Trade, District, and Local Assemblies.

The Constitutions of the American Federation and the American Labor Union provide for (a) National and international unions, (b) state, territorial or provincial unions, (c) district and city federations, (d) local and federal unions.

The primary division in structure of general federations is the local union, in which questions of policy are decided by majority vote of all members present. Thus the local unions are alike in this one respect. They represent a democratic form of government in which each member has theoretically an equal voice.

Local unions in the general federations differ in (a) the character of the membership. (b) the qualification for membership.

(a) the character of the membership -

The original assembly of the Knights of Labor was a small group of garment-cutters who organized at Philadelphia in 1869. On October 20, 1870, the first person not a garment cutter was initiated into the Order. Previous to this time the Knights of Labor had been a trade union in

the ordinary meaning, but when members of other crafts were admitted the organization, it entered upon a new period. Men known as sojourners, on account of their temporary membership in the parent local, were enlisted in the work of organization. As soon as a sufficient number of a particular craft had entered the Order, a local assembly of that trade was formed under supervision of a sojourner, who substituted his membership in Local Assembly, No. 1. for membership in the new local. Although the original purpose did not include miscellaneous trades in one local, succeeding events suggested this type of organization as the most practicable one and established the mixed assembly comprising members of all trades as the predominant unit. (1)

The American Federation of Labor, organized according to the principle of strict trade autonomy, did not favor the mixed assembly. Instead, the emphasis was placed on the local union whose members represented the same trade.

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(1) The Knights of Labor formed many trade locals where conditions did not justify a mixed assembly. The latter at any later period could not compel a member belonging to a trade local to withdraw from said trade local assembly to join a mixed local assembly.

- Decision of the General Master Workman, Sept, 1882.

Where the local union had no affiliation with a national organization, it was attached directly to the American Federation and became known, for instance, as "Ship Carpenters' Union, No. 6976, American Federation of Labor."

In certain cases, however, it was customary to form mixed local unions where any one trade had not enough members to form trade locals. Art. IX., sec. 3, of the American Federation Constitution, 1887, reads in part as follows: Any seven wage workers of good character and favorable to Trades Unions and not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who shall subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body, to be known as a "Federal Labor Union."

The American Labor Union differs from either of the foregoing in the formation of the primary division. According to the Constitution, 1903, Art. I., sec. 7, "Local unions of the American Labor Union shall comprise (a) local industrial unions admitting to membership all eligible persons engaged in a particular industry in a locality, provided no national or international union having jurisdiction over that particular industry is chartered by the American Labor Union.(1) (b) local federal unions admitting

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(1) - See discussion of advantages and disadvantages of Industrial Unions in Chapter on "Industrial Unions."

to membership all eligible persons in a locality irrespective of industry or industries in which employed, not united with a national or international union having jurisdiction over a local industrial union in that locality." In the first case, there is a departure from the trade union idea by making the industry instead of the trade the unit of organization. In the second case, provision is made for a local body analogous in structure to the mixed assembly of the Knights of Labor and the federal labor union of the American Federation.

Two qualifications are necessary to this distinction The mixed assembly of the Knights of Labor is an integral part of the structure. The nature of the organization merges all local and district authority in the centralized national government. The American Federation and the American Labor Union are much less centralized and comprise, as the most important subdivision, autonomous national unions. Most locals are therefore organized through the efforts of national unions and concern the national federations in an indirect way only. The other difference is that where the Knights of Labor treat the mixed assembly as a permanent type, the American Federation and the American Labor Union consider it temporary, and aim to form the trade union and the industrial union, respectively, wherever con-

ditions favor the change.

(b) Qualifications for membership -

The Constitution of 1879 for Local Assemblies in the Knight of Labor (Art. I, sec. 1.) reads as follows: (1) "This assembly shall be called Assembly No. - of ***** and be composed of not less than ten members at least three quarters of whom must be wage workers, and this proportion shall be maintained for all time." (see 2) "Any person working for wages and who at any time worked for wages, provided not over one-fourth are of the latter class over the age of 18, can become a member upon payment of an initiation fee of not less than 50 cents. No person who either sells or makes his living by the sale of intoxicating drinks can be admitted, and no lawyer, doctor or barber can be admitted." (2) An early decision (3) of the Gen. Master Workman states "that the outside color of a candidate shall not debar him from admission, rather let the coloring of the mind and heart be the test." The records do not show how freely the negro took advantage of this provision, but it is claimed that the first local assembly in the world composed wholly of colored men was organized at Hot Springs, Arkansas, Jan. 11, 1883, and called the Freedom Assembly, No.

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(1) The name of the Order was kept secret at this time.
(2) The restriction on doctors was removed at an early period.
(3) Decisions of the Gen. Master Workman, No. 32.

2447.

Again, the admission of women to the Order was a subject of debate in the early sessions. A resolution favoring this plan received a majority of votes cast in the Chicago Session of 1879, but it lacked the two-thirds vote necessary to change the fundamental laws. The fourth session, 1880, however, authorized Local assemblies of working women, and from that time no discrimination in membership was made.

The American Federation and the American Labor Union do not exclude members of certain vocations as do the Knights of Labor. At the same time the American Federation (1) has refused to admit farmers, because they belong to the employing class. The Knights of Labor encouraged the admission of employers, as they believed a closer relationship between capital and labor would aid in maintaining industrial peace. (2)

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(1) It must be remembered that the American Federation does not establish qualifications for membership in national and international unions, as the relation of members, except in the case of local and federal labor unions directly affiliated, is an indirect one.

(2) Each federation provises for individual membership where no local union is present. The Knights of Labor, for example, issue cards of membership whenever a local assembly lapses or surrenders its charter and leaves less than ten members who desire to remain in the Order. (-See Art. XXVI., sec. 163, Knights of Labor Constitution, 1900.) Again, as a result of the suggestion made by the General Secretary-Treasurer of the American Labor

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Local Federations -

After local unions are organized the next step in the movement toward federation is a combination of neighboring locals.

In the different organizations these local federations are somewhat analogous in structure. The pure democracy of the local union is left behind and a representative form of government takes its place. Delegates are sent to a common meeting point where questions concerning the interests of the organizations represented are discussed.

In the Knights of Labor, the local federation is called the district assembly "composed of duly accredited delegates from at least five local assemblies." Each Local Assembly attached to a district assembly is entitled "to at least one delegate to the district assembly" and any further representation is settled by the district assembly "to suit its interests." Any member may be elected a delegate if he has been in good standing for at least six months and

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Union,(-See Amer. Labor Union, 6th Annual Proceedings, 1903. p. 27.) the following section was inserted in the Constitution: (Art. I., sec. 3, Const., 1903) Individual-members of the American Labor Union may become and remain such, provided they are not eligible to membership in a national or international union chartered by the American Labor Union, and do not reside within the jurisdiction of a local or federal union of the American Labor Union."

has attended the local meetings regularly.(1)

The organizations in the American Federation and the American Labor Union corresponding to district assemblies are "Central Labor Unions in the former and District and city Unions in the latter. These central federations aim to embrace all local unions in a given area and at the same time maintain the strict autonomy of each trade. Representation, membership, etc., are left to local determination( by the national federation.) The American Federation does say, however, that "no central body affiliated with the American Federation shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a local union, chartered by a national or an international union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, etc.(2)

Sometimes equal representation to the local federation is favored, as in the Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans, La., where each white labor organization of the city is entitled to not more than three delegates.(3)

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(1) Constitution for District Assemblies Knights of Labor 1884, pp. 1-2. The same provisions appear in the later constitutions.

(2) Constitution, American Federation of Labor, 1902, Article XII., sec. 8. — The above resolution adopted at the 22nd annual convention of 1902, (proceedings, p..15) was prompted by the attitude of certain Central Labor Unions toward their local unions. One example is that of the Chicago Federation of Labor which expelled Typographical Union, No. 16, in 1901; and notwithstanding

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At other times proportional representation is preferred. A typical example of the latter system prevails in the Chicago Federation of Labor. From each union of one hundred members or less two delegates are sent to the local federation, and "for each additional hundred members or majority fraction thereof, one additional delegate (1) Following the precedent set by the American Federation, the Chicago federation excludes from membership any employer or contractor of labor.

The chief difference between the district assemblt or the one on hand, and the central labor unions and city unions on the other, lies in the power exercised by the local government.

The district assembly of the Knights, while subordinate to the general assembly, has full jurisdiction and is the highest tribunal of the Order" in its limited field. It decides all appeals, settles all disputes between locals and may assess the assemblies for its maintenance. (2) The

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the efforts of the national federation officials, it was not until the latter part of 1902, that the action expelling the Typographical Union was rescinded by the Chicago federation.

(3) Constitution, Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans, Art. I.,Sec. 1, 1901.

(1) Chicago Federation Labor,Const. 1902, Sec. 3.

(2) Constitution for District Assemblies,Art.I.,sec. 2. Later the article was amended so that the district assembl became subordinate to a state or national Trade Assembly, whenever the General laws of the Order determined it.

The local federations under the non-centralized organizations, the American Federation and the American Labor Union, are more independent and at the same time much weaker in authority than the district assembly. This independence is due to the voluntary nature of the association, while the weakness arises from the autonomy exercised by each union in the local federation.(1)

Geographically, the next division in federation structure is the national organization composed of members following the same trade or industry.

The Knights of Labor and the American Federation have observed trade lines in the National Trade Assembly and the National Trade Union respectively, while the American Labor Union favors the national industrial union.

The National Trade Assembly of the Knights of Labor has had an interesting history. In May, 1880, there existed 888 local assemblies, and 31 district assemblies distributed over 14 states. In 1881, the number of local assemblies had reached 1681, the district assemblies had fallen to 26 with a membership of about 20,000. The year 1884, when the total membership had passed 60000, marked a departure in the structure of assemblies. Previous to this time district assemblies had been composed of miscellaneous

(1) Central Labor Unions [illegible] Columbia Univ. Studies, Vol. 12.

craft assemblies. To satisfy a strong desire on the part of many members for closer union along trade lines where questions pertaining to one trade only could be settled more satisfactorily, national trade assemblies were authorized.(1) The article in the Constitution read as follows: "Trade organizations under the jurisdiction of the Order may form national trade assemblies giving at least three months notice to each local assembly composed of such trade that a convention would be held for the purpose of forming such national assembly.(2) Such assembly may enact a code of

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(1) At a convention held in Cincinnati, July 2, 1883, a resolution was adopted unanimously by the "National Harness Saddle and Collar Makers' Protective Union to amalgamate the union with the Knights of Labor. This action would probably not have been taken had not the union been encouraged by the contemplated change in the Knights of Labor structure.

(2) A typical announcement appeared in the official journal for January, 1887. "At a regular meeting of local assembly 2124 K. of L. ship carpenters and caulkers held on Feb. 16, 1887, it was resolved in conformity with Art.12, of the Constitution that a convention be held in Philadelphia June 1, 1887, for the purpose of forming a national assembly of those engaged in the ship building trades. The basis of representation in said convention shall be 1st, Every assembly shall be entitled to one delegate irrespective of the number of members, 2nd, Every assembly having a membership of 150 and less than 250 shall be entitled to two delegates, and over 250 and less than 300, three delegates and so on." Among other trades issuing similar announcements were the iron-molders, boat-builders, bakers and confectioners, carriage and wagon workers, longshoremen and dock laborers, textile workers, carpenters and joiners, saw-smiths, silk workers, furniture workers, painters, paper-hangers and decorators, etc. In July, 1887, with a membership of 511,351, there were 32 national trade districts.

laws for the government of said assembly, and if said law be approved by the executive board, the General Secretary-Treasurer shall issue a charter to such body upon receipt of the same fee as now charged for a district assembly charter. "Nothing in this article shall be construed as making it compulsory on any local assembly to join a national trade district."(1)

Under this law the national trade assembly resembles in form the typical national trade union, but differs from it in origin and in power. As already stated, the trade assembly developed some years after the General Assembly had been formed, and became an integral part of the federation. All laws passed by the national trade assembly, were subject to the approval of the General Executive Board, which in turn was responsible to the General Assembly of the Knights. The national trade union, on the other hand, preceded by many years the American Federation of Labor and developed independent of other organizations. When the Federation was formed in 1881 the national trade unions sent representatives to the convention, but retained their autonomy in all matters relating to the trade.

The national unit in the American Labor Union structure corresponding to the national trade assembly and the

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(1) - Constitution, Knights of Labor, 1884, Art. 13, sec. 1 and 2.

national trade union is the national industrial union or federation. The Constitution declares: "National and International Unions chartered by the American Labor Union shall be formed on the industrial union plan (1) and shall admit to membership all eligible persons engaged in one industry irrespective of the number of trades or crafts required in the operation of such industry." (2) This unit is practically a compromise between the miscellaneous craft assembly of the Knights which embraces all workers in a given locality and the trade union of the American Federation which excluded all workers not in the same trade. Thus the American Labor Union favors such organizations as the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brewery Workmen and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes. (3)

The next division in the structure of General Federations is the State Assembly.

The first charter for a state assembly in the Knights of Labor was granted in 1885. The clause in the Constitution read, (sec. 1) "a state assembly shall be composed of duly accredited delegates from at least ten local assemblies: (sec. 2) "a state assembly shall have power

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(1) See discussion in the chapter on Industrial Unions.
(2) American Labor Union Constitution, 1903, Art. --, sec. 4.
(3) - See chapter on Industrial Unions.

to levy taxes or assessments for its maintenance upon all locals composing the state assembly, and provides such legislation as may be deemed necessary for the good of the Order."(1) State assemblies in the Knights of Labor, however, did not bring about the expected results, and in 1897 at the 21st annual session of the General Assembly, the General Executive Board reported: "Experience has proved to us that state assemblies are not a success, unless they have a large constituency. We believe that district organizations, although smaller, are more compact and less expensive. Where a state organization is desirable, the results are obtainable through a Congress similar to that now in existence in New York State."

In the American Federation and the American Labor Union, state assemblies comprise trade unions and central bodies within their respective jurisdictions. They aim to perform in their narrower fields somewhat similar functions to those carried on by the larger federation.(2)

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(1) At the Convention of 1886, five state assemblies were reported; and, in 1888, the number had reached twenty-two, including one in Belgium. The charters of all state assemblies working with less than the constitutional number of local assemblies were recalled in 1897. This left but three state assemblies, those in Colorado, Arkansas and Michigan.

(2) In some few states the American Federation has strong flourishing state federations. Altogether the number of state federations in 1904 was 32.

Having considered the successive steps in labor federation, namely, the different kinds of local union, the local federation, the national trade and industrial unions, and, finally, the state federation, we now reach the last stage in the movement where the general federation itself forms the apex of the pyramid.(1)

The most important feature of the general federation is the representative convention, held at regular intervals and composed of members who are selected by the different organizations. The question of proper representation has been a vexed one. In the change from a local to a national and federal basis conflicting claims must be met. Large unions naturally demand representation in proportion to membership, and where the claim is allowed, there is constant danger that the unions with greatest numerical strength in the federation may use this power to ignore the interests of smaller unions. In such an event the federation ceases to be representative in the true sense.

The question naturally arises, how has this principle worked out in the experience of the several federations. The Constitution of the Knights of Labor provides that

(1) Historically, the growth of labor organizations in America has been as follows: (a) local unions, (b) national trade unions, (c) local federations, (d) general federations (e) industrial unions, (f) state federations.

"Each District Assembly shall be entitled to one representative for the first 1000 members or less and one for each additional 1000 members or majority fraction thereof. Locals attached to the General Assembly shall be entitled to representation in the General Assembly as follows: One representative for the first one thousand members and one for each additional one thousand members, or majority fraction thereof." (1) Owing to the peculiar nature of the organization the danger usually present in proportional representation was largely removed.

The district assembly combined all classes of workers and in theory regarded the trade as a secondary matter. Again, the district assembly was based on locality, and consequently did not compete with other districts in the General Assembly in the same way that national trade unions do in the trade federations. Notwithstanding these circumstances, proportional representation had certain disadvantages. For instance, where the membership grew in some localities faster than in others the old ratio had to be abandoned for a higher one in order to keep the number of representatives within proper limits. (2)

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(1) Constitution of the General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1901, Art. II., sec. 2.

(2) By increasing the ratio, injustice might be done to those districts ~~which~~ had remained stationary in numbers.

In 1886, 658 members attended the Knights of Labor Convention as delegates. It was found that a body of this size was too unwieldy for good legislation, and as a result the basis of representation was increased to one member for every three thousand or majority fraction thereof. The following convention of 1887, in consequence, had but 188 members.(1)

The Constitution of the American Federation of Labor declares, "The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate, four thousand or more two delegates, eight thousand or more three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions and Local Unions having no national or international unions, one delegate."(2)

This classification recognized two principles, namely, progressive and equal representation. In theory, proportional representation as the basis seemed to give too great an advantage to the larger unions, and equal representation likewise was rejected, because of the undue power it would place in the hands of the smaller unions. There-

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(1) When the membership subsequently declined the old ratio was restored.

(2) Constitution American Federation of Labor, 1902, Art. IV., sec. 1.

fore, a system was adopted which recognized a part of the membership by a progressive ratio, and the other part, many of whom were already represented through their respective national and international unions by an equal ratio.

Strict adherence to this progressive basis, which is in effect a compromise between equal representation of all unions and representation in proportion to membership, avoids the chief defects of proportional representation referred to above. As applied by the American Federation, it succeeds better in keeping the number of delegates within proper limits than in giving each union a full share in legislation. For instance, the following law adopted in 1897 neutralizes any restraint placed on the strong union by progressive representation. "Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, he represents, but no city or state federation shall be allowed more than one vote."(1) Thus the balance of power is retained by the large unions with the addition, it is claimed, of greater centralization in the hands of the few. Under proportional representation, it is

(1) Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, 1902, Art. IV., sec. 3.

harder to unite the more numerous delegates for common action. Under the American Federation plan of progressive representation, the fewer men who hold a vote based on the total membership of their respective unions, are in a position to form a 'ring' to rule the convention. At the twenty-first annual convention held at Scranton, 1901, 8 unions with 32 delegates had 3,686 votes, while 243 unions with 278 delegates had 3,583 votes.

The American Labor Union, in order to avoid this centralization in the hands of the few, has adopted the following plan - "The general convention shall be composed of (a) all members of the General Executive Board; (b) the General President; (c) General Vice President; (d) General Secretary-Treasurer; (e) one delegate from each national or international union for the first four thousand members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional four thousand members or major fraction thereof; provided that no national or international union shall be chartered with a membership of less than three thousand members, (f) one delegate from each state, district or city union chartered by the American Labor Union; (g) one delegate from each local union for the first one hundred members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional one hundred

members or major fraction thereof.[1]

Since the final authority of the American Labor Union rests with the collective membership, and since the referendum vote of national and international unions, apportioned according to per capita tax, is the chief factor in legislation,[2] any evils that might otherwise arise from imperfect representation are largely prevented.[3]

Qualifications for Membership in the General Convention -

The Knights of Labor declare ineligible any one who has not been "a member of the Order eighteen months prior to October 1st of the year for which he is elected" and "a member of, or delegate to the district assembly at least one year prior to said October 1st."[4]

The American Federation of Labor makes the simple provision that no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent;[5] as the American Labor Union declares "No person is eligible as a delegate who has not been a member of his union in continuous good standing at

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(1) Constitution of the American Labor Union, 1903, Art. III., sec. 1.
(2) Constitution American Labor Union, 1903, Art. II., secs. 1-6.
(3) See page the Initiative and Referendum in A.L.U.
(4) Constitution Knights of Labor, 1901, Art.II., Sec. 3.
(5) American Federation of Labor, 1904, Art. IV., Sec. 6.

least six months; provided such Union has been organized that length of time, and the credentials must so certify."(1)

Powers and Limitations of the General Convention -

The General Assembly of the Knights of Labor "has full and final jurisdiction in deciding all controversies arising within the Order, and is the highest tribunal of the Order."(2) Besides having sole power to make or amend any law, it retains arbitrary control over all branches and delegates what authority it sees fit to the general administrative officers and subordinate divisions. Quite different is the character of the other federal conventions which are composed of representatives from autonomous trade and industrial unions. In theory the unions in the American Federation cannot be made to comply with legislation passed by the general Convention, because the association is purely a voluntary one. The most effective means of coercion the presence of a large central fund, does not operate in the American Federation since each union maintains its own independent financial system. The American Labor Union Convention, likewise exercising delegated powers, is restricted in activity to narrow limits. Notwithstanding

(1) American Labor Union, Art. III., sec. 3.
(2) Constitution of the General Assembly, Art. I., sec. 1.

this similarity, the two federations present strong contrasts. The American Federation in practice may and does bring considerable influence to bear in regulating trade affairs. It has power to elect the general federation officers, to fix their salaries, to pass laws without reference to any other authority. The convention of the American Labor Union has no such power. In the first place, the imperative mandate and the delegate system that prevails reduces the independence of the Convention to a minimum. Then there is no legislative power to elect officers and fix salaries, as activity in this line is confined to nominating officers and then referring them to the membership. In other words, the supreme authority of the American Labor Union is not vested in its convention or in its officers, but in its collective membership "expressed through the referendum vote thereof."(1) The general use of the initiative and referendum has made frequent conventions unnecessary, and biennial sessions are now held.(2)

The Referendum has been used to some extent in both the Knights of Labor and the American Federation. The for-

(1) American Labor Union Constitution, 1903, Art. II., sec.1.
(2) In case of a general or sympathetic strike as we shall see, the referendum is not applied. The General Executive Board has absolute power to deal with the crisis.

mer provides for the initiative and referendum in minor laws that do not affect the General Assembly and its officers,[1] but this constitutes a limited usage.

The Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions, organized in 1881 had recourse to the referendum in several instances. Its successor, the American Federation, in the Constitution of 1886, made provision for a referendum vote of the membership on any amendment to the Constitution. In 1887, a further amendment made a two-thirds' vote of the convention necessary to establish any law.[2]

Although the Federation has submitted propositions to popular vote since 1886, the policy has never become general. The reason seems to lie in the practical difficulty of obtaining a proper expression of opinion. With the American Labor Union the conditions are somewhat different. Most of its unions, and especially its national unions use the referendum constantly, whereas many unions in the American Federation have no machinery for registering a referendum vote. Until a largerproportion of the national unions have made successful experiments with the system, it is improbable that the general federation will

(1) Constitution Knights of Labor, 1901, Art. XXIII., secs. 227-228.
(2) Industrial Commission Report, Vol. XVII., p. 43.

adopt the initiative and referendum.(1)

Composition, Powers and Limitations of the General Executive Board. -

The General Executive Board or Council in each of the Federations has played the most important part in the administration of affairs. It is composed of the President, the 8 Vice Presidents, the Secretary and the Treasurer in the American Federation; the General Master Workman, the General Worthy Foreman, and three members elected by the General Convention in the Knights of Labor; the General President, General Vice President, the General Secretary-Treasurer, and (a) "one member from each national or international union in such manner as the union may determine," (b) one member from every four thousand members or major fraction thereof embraced in local unions and individual membership, "in the American Labor Union.(2)

The General Executive Board holds supervision over the Federation between conventions and decides questions of policy for the central organization. In the different federations, however, the degrees of power exercised by the General Executive Board vary. For instance, the General

(1) Constitution Knights of Labor, 1901, Art. III., sec.10
(2) Constitution American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IV., sec. 1.

Assembly of the Knights grants large powers to this body even to the extent of giving it considerable authority over local matters. In the General Master Workman's Address to the fifteenth Regular Session we read: "It seems to me we make a mistake to enact laws in our General Assembly for the government of local affairs."(1) Again, in 1895, the same official said: "I firmly believe we should liberalize our present constitution and grant to local, state, and district assemblies the greatest possible measure of home rule and local self-government compatible with the security of the Order. In my opinion the Constitution requires of the General Officers too much time and too much of the funds of the Order in adjusting petty offenses and too little time in the great field of organization and education."(2) The correctness of this view is borne out by the practical experience of the individual members of the board. When the Order was at its height, they were called from place to place to adjust small difficulties which could readily be handled by local officials. Besides this detail work, the authority granted to the Executive Board carried with it power to suspend or expel from the Order any member or of-

(1) Knights of Labor Proceedings of General Assembly,1891, 15th Regular Session,General Master Workman's Address,p.1
(2) K. of L. Proceedings, General Master Workman's Address, p.3.

ficer of any local, district, national trade, or state assembly, and to suspend or revoke the charter of any subordinate assembly subject to appeal to the General Assembly. The tendency of later constitutional amendments has been to give greater freedom to local and district assemblies so long as they do not conflict with the laws of the General Assembly.

The American Federation and the American Labor Union on the other hand, have guaranteed to the constituent unions trade and industrial autonomy respectively. The American Labor Union, however, bestows much greater power on the General Executive Board than the American Federation. Art. IV., sec. 6, of the Constitution declares. The General Executive Board shall have power to discipline and revoke the charter of any national, international state, district, city or local union, or to discipline any general officer, local officer or member of the American Labor Union. To suspend, dismiss or expel for cause by two-thirds' any General Officer except the General President, and any local officer or member of the American Labor Union.(1) Such sweeping authority seems comparable to that exercised by the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor. But owing to the autonomous character of the national unions, to the more representative membership of the American Labor Union

(1) Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IV., sec. 6.

Board, and, finally, to the constant use of the referendum, it is clear that this board is not as autocratic as might be supposed.(1)

To illustrate more clearly the powers exercised by the executive board, we may consider its activities in two typical fields, namely, jurisdiction disputes and strikes.

(a) Jurisdiction Disputes -

One of the chief advantages of a federation is its ability to handle the frequent jurisdiction disputes between unions. A serious weakness of trade unions in their relations one toward the other has been the ever present endeavor to gain more jurisdiction, and it has made little difference apparently to the aggressive union whether the added jurisdiction has or has not been at the expense of other unions. One purpose of federations is to establish some equitable basis on which unions may control certain trade or industrial territory without interference from other unions.

If the federation does not possess the strength necessary to command obedience to jurisdiction decisions, then the administration is weak at a point where it should

(1) The strongest power conferred on the Gen. Ex. Board is in the presence of general strikes, where the Board may order any or all members to strike. - See, under Strikes

be strong. For the important mission of a federation is to legislate in those matters that concern two or more national unions whenever the national unions in themselves are unable to accomplish results. When questions arise involving one union only, experience has shown it is better for the federation to leave settlement to the particular trade or industry, unless called upon to render assistance.

Measured by this standard the Knights of Labor overstepped the bounds in delegating power to the General Executive Board, and did not leave enough independence to the minor organizations. One great advantage, however, was always present - jurisdiction disputes could be quickly settled at the hands of the officials.(1)

In contrast to this absolute power, are the limitations placed upon the American Federation Executive Council. Acting in a judicial capacity only in disputes over trade jurisdiction, the Executive Council has slight control over the enforcement of a decision. The severest penalty imposes on a union for refusing to obey is suspension or expulsion from the federation and this is not considered a great hardship by a majority of the unions. Consequently, juris-

(1) A decision of the General Master Workman shows the extent to which this power was carried. "An order issued by the General Executive Board whether in the form of a circular, or through the columns of the Official Journal must be obeyed." Suspension follows disobedience. Decisions of the Gen. Master Workman, 1890, No. 60.

diction disputes are among the most serious problems confronting the American Federation, and will require the most careful treatment in the future. An example will serve to make the position clearer. The United Brewery Workmen included in their organization, engineers and firemen. The respective national unions of these trades claimed jurisdiction over the brewery engineers and the brewery firemen. This claim was not allowed by the United Brewery Workmen. A long, bitter struggle followed in which the American Federation took an active part.

The Executive Council rendered conflicting decisions at different times, but, in 1902 and during the last three years, it has consistently granted jurisdiction over the brewery engineers to the International Union of Steam Engineers, and over the brewery firemen to the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen. Recently, the American Federation has threatened to suspend the Brewery Workmen unless they surrender the engineers and firemen, but the latter refused to take such action and are awaiting the next move on the part of the Federation. (1)

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(1) The Brewery Workmen assert that they have the same right to the men who work in and around the brewery, as the United Mine Workers have over those who work in and around the mine. For this reason, they say, the American Federation is inconsistent when it makes demands on the United Brewery Workmen, and allows the United Mine Workers to include engineers, firemen, blacksmiths, drivers, etc.

Two factors are prominent in determining the influence of the Executive Council in jurisdiction disputes, one, the composition of the Council, and the other, the absence of a central defense fund.

For 1904-1905 the members of the Executive Council represented the following trades,- cigar-maker, granite cutter, miner, glass bottle-blower, wood worker, retail clerk, tailor, printer, machinist, plumber, and longshoreman. Now, ordinarily, the trade unionist dislikes to have his trade affairs settled by a board whose members are unfamiliar with the trade conditions, and he considers this board not fully qualified to pass upon jurisdiction disputes.(1) Again, the absence of a central defense fund is a source of weakness to the Federation in forcing its decisions. The national unions maintain separate treasuries apart from that of the Federation, and naturally feel less inclined to observe unfavorable decisions.(2) To prevent as far as possible the occasion for jurisdiction disputes, the Constitution of 1901 declared "No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor, to any National or In-

(1) Thus we find related trade federations like the National Building Trades Council and the Structural Building Trades Alliance, organized to deal with questions peculiar to the industry. -See chapter on Allied Trade Councils.

(2) An additional circumstance is that the Federation is supported by the receipts from a per capita tax which are large or small in proportion to the membership of the unions.

ternational Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions."(1)

The American Labor Union undertakes more definately the task of settling jurisdiction claims. "The General Executive Board shall have power to determine the jurisdiction of all national, international or local unions of the American Labor Union, when not otherwise provided for in this Constitution."(2) The last clause is most significant, since a later section in the Constitution fully defines the jurisdiction of national and international unions.(3)

The structure of the local unions, it must be remembered, is industrial in form, that is, all persons engaged in one industry are eligible to membership. Previous to 1903, there was no settled policy of organization, but in that year a strong sentiment developed against the separate trade organization, in which each trade has an independent

(1) In 1902 the controversy between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was referred to the Executive council which revoked the Charter of the Engineers. The Convention held in 1902 endorsed this action. American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1902, pp. 51, 205.
(2) American Labor Constitution, 1903, Art. IV., Sec. 19.
(3) Ibid, Art. X., Sec.4.

government and independent contracts with employers. Where each local is an industrial union and each national an alliance of all trades in a particular industry, the probability of jurisdiction disputes is much lessened.

Such difficulties as now exist in the American Federation of Labor, as claimed between the Brewery Workers and the Engineers, the Carpenters and Woodworkers, etc., have less justification under a federation of industrial unions. In the event of jurisdiction disputes occurring in the American Labor Union, the causes which tend in theory to weaken the power of the American Federation Executive Council, operate to strengthen the American Labor Union. One is the more representative character of the Executive Board, comprising one member from each national or international union, and one member for every four thousand members in local unions attached directly to the federation.(1) The other element in determining the influence of the General Executive Board is the presence of a central defense fund controlled almost absolutely by the officials.(2) Where a

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(1) American Labor Union, Constitution. Art. IV., sec.1. Under this provision, however, it is difficult to see how the Board will keep from becoming unwieldy, if the unions continue to increase in numbers.

(2) -See Central Defense Fund under Revenues.

union depends for financial support in case of trouble upon the central treasury, it is more willing to accept the decisions of the federation.

(b) Power of the General Executive Board over Strikes -

An important power conferred upon the Executive Board of the different federations is the control over affiliated unions in strikes. Before the strike on the Southwestern Railway System, in 1886, the Knights of Labor left the conduct of strikes to the district assembly.

"District Assemblies may adopt such rules and regulations in regard to strikes as they deem best, but no strike shall be entered into or authorized until every possible effort has been made to settle the difficulty by arbitration."(1) Again, "No strike shall be declared or entered into by any member or members of any local assembly without the sanction of the Executive Board of the District or Local assembly, as the case may be."(2)

After the strike of 1886, referred to above, the General Assembly took from the district assembly the power to order strikes "except by a two-thirds' secret vote of

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(1) Constitution for District Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, 1884, Art. VII., sec. 1.
(2) Constitution of General Assembly, 1884, Art. XV., sec. 13.

all the members to be involved."(1) The American Federation and the American Labor Union as may be expected differ in the control which they exert over strikes. The American Federation makes no effort to dictate the strike policy of national unions, since the latter are prepared to meet any emergency by drawing upon their own defense funds.(2) On the other hand, the American Labor Union grants power to its General Executive Board "to approve or sanction a strike of any national or international union, local union or number of local unions, when the same has been ordered by a two-thirds vote of all members voting on secret ballot."(3) The federation thus prescribes the manner in which a subordinate union shall enter upon a strike, and refuses to give any support unless the union has conformed to the law.(4)

Power to order Strikes -

In addition to what has been said about the general

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(1) "a distinct or local assembly working directly under the authority of the General Assembly engaging in a strike without the sanction of the General Executive Board shall not receive assistance of any kind from any branch of the Order outside of that engaging in said strike. - Constitution, 1901, Art. VI., sec. 27. - See, also, Hall, Sympathetic Strikes and Lockouts, pp. 82-84.

(2) The American Federation does maintain a defense fund for Local trade and Federal Labor Unions. In this case a strike to be supported by the Federation must receive the approval of the Executive Council. Constitution, 1902, Art. XIII., sec. 7.

(3) American Labor Union Constitution, 1903, Art. IV., sec.6.

(4) American Labor Union Constitution, 1903, Art. IV., sec.7

powers of the Executive Board.(1) One important feature deserved mention. The American Labor Union in its constitution adopted by referendum in 1903, grants to the General Executive Board full power "by two-thirds' vote to initiate and order local or general strikes of any and all members of the American Labor Union, or any national, international, or local union or unions thereof, at any time or place, whenever in the judgment of the General Executive such action is necessary for the welfare of the American Labor Union."(2) This broad provision makes the Board supreme at certain times, and gives it the right to bring the whole organization to the support of any one part. It must be remembered, however, that this authority holds good in the case of strikes only where the general or sympathetic action of all members working in a given industry is necessary for success.

Strike Fund -

When a strike is once declared, the most vital consideration is the defense fund. The Knights of Labor in 1884 established an assistance fund to aid locals on

(1) Art. XIII., secs. 1-3 of the American Federation of Labor Constitution describes the steps to be taken by a local ~~union~~ before it may enter upon a strike. The General Executive Board authorizes the strike.
(2) American Labor Union Constitution, Art. IV., sec. 4.

strike.(1) Each local assembly forwarded monthly to the district assembly the sum of five cents per member; and each district assembly had exclusive control over the fund collected from the different locals, with one exception,- the General Executive Board had the right to assess the district assembly fund for the support of any other assembly whose treasury had been depleted by strikes or lockouts.(2)

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(1) The Constitution of 1878 made no reference to a fund for strikes purposes, but provided for a "Resistance Fund" as follows: "Each Local Assembly shall set apart in a special investment, each month a sum equal to five cents each for every member upon the books, which fund shall accumulate and remain intact for the space of two years from January, 1878. After that time it will be held for use and distribution under such laws and regulations as the General Assembly may adopt." (Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1878, 1st Annual Session, p.32.)

In 1880, An article of the Constitution, Art. VIII., headed "Defense funds and Strikes" had as its first section: "A defense fund shall be formed by the payment each quarter to the Trustees of the General Assembly by each Local of a sum equal to fifteen cents for each member in good standing in said Local. - (Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1881, p.247. )

(2) Constitution of the General Assembly, 1884, Art. XV., secs. 1-5.
Proceedings of General Assembly, 1884, p.756.

later, contribution to the Assistance Fund was made voluntary on the part of district or local assembly; and at the present time any "District or Local Assembly may create an Assistance Fund and have entire control of it."(1)

The defence fund of the American Federation established at the annual convention of 1901, is intended solely for the benefit of local unions affiliated with the American Federation and has nothing to do with national and international unions. The fund is derived from a per capita tax of five cents per member per month, and in case of a strike is distributed as follows: to each member on strike for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to $4.00 per week. The Executive Council regulates further payment of strike benefits.(2)

The Defense Fund of the American Labor Union is quite different. In effect February 1, 1904, the law provides for a payment of five cents per member per month to be used exclusively "for the purpose of conducting strikes and paying strike benefits when such strikes have been duly and legally approved by the General Executive Board."(3)

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(1) Constitution of the General Assembly, Knights of Labor, Art. VI., sec. 43.
(2) American Federation of Labor, Art. XIII., sec. 5. From Feb. 1, 1903 to Sept. 30, 1903, the total amount paid from the Defense Fund was $6,690.
(3) Constitution, 1903, Art. IX., secs. 1 and 2.

This fund representing the contributions of every member in the American Labor Union, strengthens the central government of the federation, and places each member in a position to command the united support of the different organizations. For instance, any local entering upon a strike authorized by the General Executive Board has the Central Defense Fund to back it up. This common interest in financial affairs serves to produce greater unity of action as well as to shorten the strike period. Thus the large industrial unions, like the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes are as much interested in the defense fund as the individual local or the individual members.(1) It is of the highest import-

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(1) American Labor Union Strike Fund.
Board of Directors -

To all Divisions United Brotherhood of Railway Employes!

To provide for the per capita tax for the defense fund of the American Labor Union in which all affiliated organizations are participants and which is established by operation of the new American Labor Union Constitution on February 1, you are hereby advised that beginning with the month of February, 1904, and until otherwise provided for by the Constitution, a special assessment of five cents per member per month is levied against each division of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, payable with the general treasury proportion of the regular monthly dues.

You will observe that this is an arbitrary tax to be paid into the treasury of the defense fund every month at the rate of five cents for every member affiliated with the American Labor Union in return for which all members are eligible to relief in case of strikes or lockouts. It is optional with each division to levy this assessment against

(over)

ance therefore in case of trouble, for all to stand together, settle the trouble speedily, and stop the drain on the central treasury.(1) As a national official explained to the writer in justifying the attitude of the American Labor Union toward strikes, this federation may be compared to the hub of the wheel where each member is as strong as the whole organization. The American Federation, on the contrary, is the rim of the wheel in which each member or union is as weak as its corresponding spoke. The strike pay given to members who have been on strike for seven consecutive days does not exceed $5.00 per week for strikers with families dependent upon them, and $3.00 for other strikers.(2)

Special Assessment -

The power given to the General Executive Board to levy special assessments is present in all general federations. In the American Federation the Executive Council may declare an assessment of one cent per member per week for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year," to

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the members, or pay it out of its local treasury.
United Brotherhood of Railway Employes,
Journal, Nov. 31, 1904.

(Signed) Chairman, Board of Directors.

(1) American Labor Union Journal, Sept., 1904.
(2) American Labor Union Constitution, 1904, Art. IV., Sec. 11.

aid an organization whose funds have become exhausted.[1] In addition, the Council has power to tax local trade, and federal labor unions ten cents per member, whenever the defense fund of the federation is unusually low.[2]

In a similar manner the American Labor Union grants the power of assessment to the Executive Board. To replenish the cash reserve for example a special tax on all members is authorized in support of a strike "legally ordered and sanctioned by the General Executive Board."[3] The important feature of this provision is that there is no constitutional limitation to the power of assessment in times of need.

Power to Declare a Strike off -

The Knights of Labor and the American Labor Union authorize the General Executive Board to settle any strike sanctioned by the Board. With the Knights, unanimous consent is necessary to make lawful a strike settlement,[4] while a two-thirds' vote of the members composing the American Labor Union Board is sufficient for the purpose.[5] No pos-

(1) American Federation of Labor, Constitution, 1902, Art. X., sec. 1.
(2) Assessments are restricted to not more than five a year.- American Federation of Labor, Const. 1902, Art. XII.,
(3) American Labor Union Const. 1902, Art. IV., sec. 6
(4) Constitution General Assembly, Art. VI., sec. 18.
(5) Constitution American Labor Union, 1902, Art. IV., sec. 9.

trol is exercised by the American Federation over national and international unions. In the case of locals directly affiliated the Constitution declares "Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the union shall be called for that purpose and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way."(1)

The President of General Federations -

The most important single official(2) in general federations is the President.(3) He is elected by the annual

(1) American Federation of Labor Constitution, Art. XIII., sec. 9.

(2) The other elective officers of general federations are: The Vice-President in the American Labor Union, eight vice-presidents in the American Federation, and the General Worthy Foreman, whose duties correspond to those of a vice president, in the Knights of Labor; a general secretary and a general treasurer in the American Federation, and a general secretary-treasurer in the other two organizations; and finally, an executive board, the composition and duties of which have already received attention. In case of death, resignation or removal of the executive head, the General Worthy Foreman of the Knights, and the Vice-President of the American Labor Union, succeed to the chief position. The vice-presidents of the American Federation have no legal right of succession, and the Secretary summons the Executive Council to head-quarters for the purpose of selecting a president for the federation. The duties of the Secretary and Treasurer do not differ essentially from the duties usually attached to those offices. These officials are bonded in reliable companies. (Vide American Federation of Labor Constitution, 1902, Art. VI., sec. 5; American Labor Union Constitution, 1903, Art. VII.

(3) Called the General Master Workman in the Knights of Labor.

convention in the American Federation and the Knights of Labor, and holds office for one year. In the American Labor Union he is elected, in common with other officers, by referendum vote, and serves a term of two years or until his successor is installed.(1) The General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, designated at first as the Grand Master Workman, has more power than is given ordinarily to a federation official. "The General Master Workman shall preside at all sessions of the General Assembly, enforce all laws thereof when the General Assembly is not in session; have general superintendence of the Order", etc. Besides the right to enforce the law between conventions he may also interpret the Constitution according to his best judgment. His decisions have been generally accepted throughout the Order and have had the same force as constitutional law. As the opinions accumulated, they were published from time to time with the title "The Decisions of the General Master Workman"(2)

The Presidents of the American Federation and the(3)

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(1) American Labor Union, Constitution, 1903, Art.XI.,
(2) Constitution of the General Assembly, 1894, Art. V., sec. 1.
The edition of 1890 contained 220 of these decisions.
(3) The original Constitution of 1881 made no provision for an executive official.

American Labor Union differ in the extent to which they may exercise power. The nature of the American Federation forbids placing any pronounced authority in the hands of the executive head, but in practice the president exerts considerable moral influence over national and international unions. The American Labor Union, on the other hand, delegates more important duties to the president. "He may convene (for example) any local union at any time, preside therein, inspect its work, correct its errors, examine its books and require conformity with the Constitution, by-laws, rules and regulations of the American Labor Union."(1) The framers of the Constitution, by conferring this power "of general supervision and discipline" on the president, hoped to build up a system of government in which strict conformity to law is a distinguishing feature. In addition, the president of the American Labor Union may grant charters to state, district, city and local unions; and to national and international unions, provided that a charter has not already been granted to a national or international union having jurisdiction over the same industry."(1)

Among other important duties the president of the ~~American~~ federation is directed to make efforts to organize existing unions more thoroughly, and to extend the work into new fields. For this purpose organ-

(1) Constitution, 1903, Art. V., sec. 11.

izers are appointed in different localities to increase the membership and form new local unions. Judging from the Constitution, one would suppose the Executive Council of the American Federation has complete control over this activity, but in practice the President is the leading spirit in the movement. The Knights of Labor and the American Labor Union provide for the appointment of organizers by the respective presidents whenever conditions are favorable to an aggressive campaign. (1)

The appointing power of the president is prominent at each general convention of the federation where he selects the committeemen who perform the actual work of the convention. Among the principal committees usually appointed are the committee on Credentials, on Rules and Order of Business, on General Officers' Reports, on Resolutions, on Appeals and Grievances, on Finance, etc. Whenever special committees are authorized, the president, as a rule, has the appointing power. (2)

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(1) Constitution, A.L.U., Art. V., sec. 15.
" K. of L., 1901, Art. VIII., sec. 46.

(2) At the Richmond Convention of 1886, when the Knights of Labor were most powerful, the following committees made reports:
Com. on State of Order. Special Committee on Financial and Industrial Depressions. Special Committee on Legislation. Committees on Cooperation, Women's Work, Insurance, Chinese Importation and Foreign Labor under Contract. Committees on Railway Insurance, Education, Loans, Finance,
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Limitations on the President -

There are three important checks upon the President of General Federations, ist. The General Executive Board, 2nd.. the Convention, and 3rd, the general membership.

Though possessed of arbitrary power in many instances the General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor was subordinate to the General Executive Board. For example, appeals could be taken from the decisions of the General Master Workman other than upon questions of law to the General Executive Board. ~~The Executive Councils in the other federations differ in their control over the chief official.~~ The President of the American Federation in his important acts must obtain the approval of the Executive Council, while the same holds true in a limited sense only of the American Labor Union. In at least one case, where he suspends a general officer other than a member of the Executive Board, he must await the decision of the General Executive Board before final action is taken.(1)

The General Convention is a more general and a more effective check on the power of the president. The Knights of Labor require their General Master Workman to report to the General Assembly all decisions involving questions of

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Appeals and Grievances, Journal, General Executive Board and on General Master Workman.

(1) American Labor Union, Constitution, Art. V., sec. 12.

law.(1) Likewise the officials of the American Federation and the American Labor Union submit to each annual convention reports of their official acts which may be approved or condemned. The president of the American Federation is directly dependent upon the annual convention, the supreme authority in the organization; the president of the American Labor Union is only partly responsible to the biennial convention. The explanation of this difference lies in the character of the representative assembly. In the one case, the members elected by the unions are perfectly free to act in the American Federation Convention according to their best judgment. In the other case, the convention is composed of delegates who vote according to the wishes of their constituents, expressed through the referendum. The ultimate authority in both cases to be sure, rests with the collective membership; but in the American Labor Union, an immediate connection may be traced between official responsibility and popular control.

(2)
Revenues -

In the experience of English trade organizations,

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(2) Reference has already been made to the Defense Fund of General Federations.

(1) Decisions on other questions, as we have seen, are subject to the approval of the General Executive Board.

"centralization of finance implies in a militant organization, centralization of administration."(1) How do the facts in American experience bear out this statement? The General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, from the nature of its activities needed a strong central treasury. By maintaining a fund sufficient to help the branches of the Order in strikes, in cooperative enterprises, and by special appropriations, the national officials were able to control the membership and make effective the laws of the organization.(2) A per capita tax of six cents per quarter for every member in good standing is levied by the General Assembly on each Local Assembly attached to a State, National, Trade, or District Assembly, and a per capita tax of ten cents per quarter for every member in local assemblies attached directly to the General Assembly. In addition, the sum of five cents is paid by each member to defray transportation expenses of representatives to the annual convention. Other sources of revenue are charter fees, supplies, travelling or transfer cards, etc. The lack of administrative centralization in the American Federation is accompanied by a less centralized financial system. Starting in 1881 with

(1) Webb, Industrial Democracy, p.94.
(2) See table of Receipts and Expenditures.

a three cent annual tax per member on the affiliated unions (1) the "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions" received this sum to one cent per member the following year. (2) Article VII., section 1 of the 1883 Constitution reads: "The revenue of this federation shall be derived from each national and international trade or labor union, etc. upon the following basis; for 1000 members or less $10.00 per annum, 1000 to 4000, $20.00, 4000 to 8000, $25.00; 8000 to 12000, $30.00, etc. Again, in 1885, a resolution was passed declaring that the several unions should pay into the central treasury sums proportionate to the size of their respective treasuries. When the American Federation of Labor was formed in 1886, an annual tax of six cents per member was placed on national and local unions. The following year this tax was reduced to three cents a year for national and local organizations, with a tax of $25.00 a year on Central Labor Unions and State Federations. (3) After various changes from time to time, the present rate was fixed as follows: "From International or National Trade unions, a per capita tax of one-half of one cent per member

(1) Report of the first annual session, 1881, p.5.
(2) " " " second " " 1882, pp. 3,4.
(3) Report of the 2nd Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor, 1887, p.5.

per month; from local trade unions and federal unions ten cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout.(1) From local unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen years of age, two cents per member per month; from central and state bodies, $10.00 per year, payable quarterly."(2) Since the Federation, as already explained, does not maintain a defense fund for national and international unions, there is not that same incentive to united action which figures largely in the Knights of Labor and the American Labor Union.

The distinguishing feature about the American Labor Union system of revenue(3) is the large proportion assigned to the defense fund(4) to be used for strike purposes only. Out of the five and one-third cents per member per month paid into the central treasury by national and international unions, but one-third of a cent is placed in the general fund for current expenses.(5) The revenues from local and

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(1) - See under Defense Fund.

(2) Report of Proceedings 1st Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor, p.XIX.
American Federation of Labor, Constitution, 1902, Art. XI.

(3) The present constitution was adopted in December, 1901. Previous to that time the revenues were derived from a per capita tax of seven cents per months, which was increased to ten cents per month at the Convention of 1901. Three cents of this amount was used for organizing expenses, but it seems that the amount spent for organizing exceeded the

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federal unions are divided with three purposes in view. Twenty cents per member per month, the total per capita tax, is applied as follows - eleven cents for general expenses, four cents toward the expenses of the American Labor Union Journal, and the remainder to be added to the defense fund.(1) Other revenues are derived from an initiation fee of $2.50 from individual members not belonging to any other union, charter fees of local and national unions, $20.00 and $5.00 respectively, and dues of state, district, or city unions fixed at "three dollars per quarter, payable quarterly in advance."(2)

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appropriations. From July 1901 to March 31, 1902, for instance, almost $1.000 had been taken from the general fund to supply the deficiency in the organizing fund. Vide Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention, p.20.
(4) -See Defense Fund under Strikes.
(5) American Labor Union, Constitution, 1903, Art. IX., sec. 1.

(1) American Labor Union, Constitution, 1903, Art. IX., sec. 2.
(2) Ibid. Art. IX., secs. 4-7.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

| Year | Receipts | Expenditures. |
|---|---|---|
| 1879 | $1877.38 | $1,775.80 |
| 1880 | 6120.95 | 6,050.14 |
| 1881 | 12380.10 | 9,995.31 |
| 1882 | 16934.82 | 15,028.46 |
| 1883 | 38770.93 | 37,343.04 |
| 1884 | 34114.06 | 32,745.93 |
| 1885 | 65013.30 | 50,552.79 |
| 1886 | 206,602.85 | 106,101.78 |
| 1887 | 497,656.08 | 491,683.91 |
| 1888 | 226,164.67 | 222,507.09 |
| 1889 | 127,026.62 | 117,969.01 |
| 1890 | 101,933.63 | 88,880.50 |
| 1891 (1) | 112,738.35 | 102,474.36 |
| 1892 | 60,614.19 | 59,748.82 |
| 1893 | 52,683.17 | 52,256.87 |

(1) A special Committee reported to Convention of 1891
Total Receipts 1.038,814.90 from Oct. 1, 1883 to Dec.1, 1888.
Total expenses 1,007,692.77

$31,122.13 unaccounted for.

Page 72. Proceedings 1891.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

| Year | Receipts | Expenditures. |
|---|---|---|
| 1894 | $56,050.39 | $46,741.62 |
| 1875 | 79,655.05 | 73,250.06 |
| 1896 | 40,119.72 | 39,793.26 |
| 1897 | 26,015.67 | 23,922.72 |
| 1898 | 22,699.97 | 21,127.17 |
| 1899 | 15,596.52 | 14,172.86 |
| 1900 | 16,710.26 | 16,490.60 |
| 1901 (1) | 10,956.74 | 10,302.93 |

(1) At the 25th session, 1901, a departure from the former methods of reporting the finances was made. Only the statement of total receipts and total expenditures appears and no particulars were given.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

| Year | Receipts | Expenditures. |
|---|---|---|
| 1881 | $ 174.95 | $ 136.20 |
| 1882 | 125.00 | 252.25 |
| 1883 | 690.19 | 352.32 |
| 1884 | 357.42 | 543.20 |
| 1885 | 584.03 | 450.58 |
| 1886 | 474.11 | 510.63 |
| 1887 | 1,939.82 | 2,074.39 |
| 1888 | 4,512.55 | 3,933.67 |
| 1889 | 6,838.40 | 6,578.33 |
| 1890 | 23,849.74 | 21,070.57 |
| 1891 | 17,702.36 | 13,190.07 |
| 1892 | 17,834.51 | 18,324.69 |
| 1893 | 20,864.62 | 21,383.36 |
| 1894 | 15,346.43 | 17,302.08 |
| 1895 | 13,751.75 | 15,612.42 |
| 1896 | 16,290.18 | 15,452.95 |
| 1897 | 18,639.92 | 19,113.83 |
| 1898 | 18,894.15 | 19,197.17 |
| 1899 | 36,757.13 | 40,899.72 |
| 1900 | 71,125.82 | 68,373.39 |
| 1901 | 115,220.89 | 118,708.39 |

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

| Year. | Receipts | Expenditures. |
|---|---|---|
| 1902 | $ 144,498.21 | $ 119.086.74 |
| 1903 | 247,802.96 | 196,015.57 |
| 1904 | 307,009.09 | 203,991.15 |

AMERICAN LABOR UNION.

| Year | Receipts | Expenditures |
|---|---|---|
| 1900 | $ [illegible] | $ 4,930.55 |
| 1901 | 3,970.69 | 3,261.31 |
| 1902 | 12,822.45 | 11,372.32 |
| 1903 | 18,656.08 | 18,242.67 |

The above tables are compiled from the annual reports of the secretary-treasurer of the federation to the general convention.

## Chapter III.

### THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR AND THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Prior to the Civil War, national trade unions in the United States multiplied without any corresponding success in the formation of alliances between them. Labor federations, in so far as they existed, were local in character. Thus the General Trade-Union of the City of New York, organized in 1833, was a federation composed of miscellaneous unions of that city.(1) On January 8, 1834 the General Trades Union of Boston was organized upon the same general lines as the New York federation, and shortly thereafter similar organizations came into existence in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

In 1866 certain representatives of organized labor assembled at Baltimore and formed The National Labor Union, with the establishment of the eight-hour working day as its chief aim. In 1867 and again in 1868, this organization held conventions and displayed considerable vigor; but active participation in the national campaign of 1872 created internal dissensions and the Union soon ceased to exercise any large influence.(2)

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(1) A convention including representatives from several national and international unions met in Cleveland, July 15, 1874, for the purpose of starting a national federation movement similar in scope to the National Labor Union. Though a declaration of principles and a constitution were adopted, the

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In the general industrial depression of the early seventies, union after union was forced to disband. The system of low dues and slight benefits now universally condemned as a trade union policy, was then general, and hard times found the labor forces unprepared for the emergency. With industrial revival, the labor world moved towards organization. The experiences of the unions during the depression suggested the need of a strong federative form of alliance supplementary to the local and national types then existing, and the order of the Knights of Labor undertook to supply this need.

The Knights of Labor was the first successful national federation of labor in the United States. The organization had its genesis in a local union of garment cutters, formed in Philadelphia in 1869. With growth in membership, a desire arose for a body which should represent all the local unions in a certain district. Delegates were sent to a common meeting place and a "district assembly" designated thereafter as District Assembly No. 1, was organized to further the interests of the local assemblies under its jurisdiction. This plan proving successful, other district

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Industrial Brotherhood, as the new federation was called, did not survive a year. It is noteworthy, however, that the preamble of the Industrial Brotherhood formed the basis of the preamble adopted later by the Knights of Labor; see "Industrial Commission Report," vol. XVII., p. 6.

assemblies were formed whenever the number of local assemblies in a new field justified a federation.[1]

On August 2, 1877, a circular from District Assembly No. 1 was sent to all officers and members of the Knights of Labor notifying them of a convention to be held in Reading, Pa., on January 1, 1878,[2] for the purpose of forming a "general assembly", and establishing a central resistance fund, a bureau of statistics, and a system of revenue to aid in the work of organization. In response to the call thirty-two delegates assembled in the city designated, formed a representative organization with a strongly centralized control, and after deliberation adopted as the name of the body so constituted the "General Assembly of the Knights of Labor of North America".[3]

In the next three years the Knights of Labor, although in full accord with the ideals of the general labor movement, developed along lines unmistakably opposed to the traditional principle of trade unionism, viz., trade autonomy. It placed in the hands of the General Assembly "full and final jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to the local

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(1) Powderly, "Thirty Years of Labor" ( ),p.187 et seq.
(2) "Proceedings of the Knights of Labor Convention" (1878, p. 3 ). For the full text of the Circular see "Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, p.238.
(3) Ibid., p.29.

and district assemblies".(1) The district assembly in turn possessed power within its district "to decide all appeals and settle controversies within or between local assemblies".(2)

The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada was formed in 1881,(3) and was planned as a labor confederacy which might admit local assemblies of the Knights of Labor on an equality with trade unions. In adopting the name "Trade and Labor Unions" the representatives to the congress made a direct concession to this end. In the first congress of the new federation, the local assembly of the Knights of Labor and the trade union were both represented, and it was understood that each should maintain its own organization and work in harmony with the other for the amalgamation of all labor units.(4) But when the respective positions of the two federations became more sharply defined, radical differences appeared. In principle there was no inherent antagonism, since the work of one federation might very well supplement that of

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(1) "Constitution of the General Assembly, 1878" Article 1, sec. 2.
(2) "Constitution for District Assemblies, 1878" Article 1, sec. 2.
(3) The call for the convention held in Pittsburg, 1881, read in part: "We have numberless trades unions, trades' assemblies or councils, Knights of Labor and various other local, national, and international labor unions. But great as has been the work done by these bodies, there is vastly more that can be done by a combination of all these organ-

the other. But in practice disagreements inevitably arose. Thus the Knights of Labor advocated the mutual recognition of working cards, and claimed for its members full standing as union men. The Federation refused to recognize this demand, and insisting upon strict trade autonomy, opposed dual organization in any one trade. Such differences in policy were reflected in actual controversies between the corresponding units of the two organizations. A primary purpose of each federation as expressed in its declarations was to increase the number of labor unions, and the existing differences were aggravated by the rival activity displayed in organizing.

The first local assembly of the Knights organized in 1869 consisted originally of garment workers. But a few months later (October 21, 1870) the first person not a garment cutter was initiated into the order, and thenceforth the unit in the federation changed in quality from a trade union in the strict sense, to a new type, the "mixed assembly", with the interests common to all productive workers, instead of the particular interests of a special craft as

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izations in a federation of trades"; -see "Federation of Trades and Labor Unions," 1881, p.7.

(4) "Report of the First Annual Session of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Union, 1881", pp. 8-10.

its primary concern. In becoming "mixed", the local assembly sought to gather into one fold all branches of honorable toil, without regard to nationality, sex, creed, or color.(1) This principle guided the organizers(2) in their field work, and was responsible for the remarkable growth of the order in the next few years.

On the other hand, the unit in the American Federation of Labor was the local trade union, composed of artisans following a single vocation, and attached to a national trade union.(3) The founders of the Federation accepted the abstract principle of a common labor cause advanced by the Knights, but held that the mechanism through which the interest of all could best be promoted was the craft union. The opponents of the autonomous system claimed that the trade union seeks exclusive privileges in its particular field at the expense of those engaged in other branches of industry. In general these differences marked the broad distinction between the federations, but in special cases they faded away. For instance, it was common to find a lo-

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(1) Constitution for the Local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, 1884."

(2) "Constitution of the General Assembly, 1879, ~~1878~~, Art.II., Sec. 1.

(3) An exception occurs in the case of locals directly affiliated with the Federation, but this class forms a minor division and need not seriously qualify the main statement. In the Report of the President of the Federation to the Convention of 1900, p.7, we read "the formation of one local union placed under its proper jurisdiction, is of great-

cal assembly of the Knights of Labor composed exclusively of one trade wherever conditions were unfavorable to the mixed assembly. Similarly, the American Federation of Labor in its endeavor to embrace all classes, formed many mixed local unions analogous in composition to the mixed local of the Knights of Labor. In each case, however, the irregular grouping was considered a temporary form, incidental to the work of organization.(1)

The difference in purpose noted in the primary divisions appeared to a larger extent in the federate grouping. The district assembly, comprising the local assemblies of the Knights of Labor in a given locality, corresponds to the central labor union or federation of trades-unions.(2) Before the Knights of Labor movement, the life of these central organizations was ordinarily brief. After a stormy experience of personal jealousies, political affiliations, and trade jurisdiction disputes, such associations commonly fell apart. As the Knights of Labor grew,

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er consequence and importance to the safety and progress of the labor movement than the issuance of 20 charters for local unions to be affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor".

(1) The organizers of the American Federation often found it necessary to form into one local union workers of miscellaneous crafts. Hence federal labor unions arose in those localities where numbers did not justify unions of single trades. As soon as a sufficient number belonging to one craft was gathered together, a new local trade union recruited from the membership of the mixed union was form-

many of these weak central labor unions were reorganized as district assemblies with large powers. A little later, under the organization of the American Federation of Labor, they came to hold a less important position, and retained merely advisory powers with little actual authority. (1)

We have seen how in the development of the Knights of Labor movement the mixed assembly became the unit of organization. In 1884 a reaction toward the old individual craft organization made necessary the recognition of national trade assemblies as an important subdivision. (2) At this juncture the cherished principle of the unity of all labor interests was subject to a severe test. Mixed assemblies were found too extensive in their sympathies, and the natural desire for meetings where members of one craft could discuss questions primarily of importance to them reasserted itself. Furthermore, the organization of industrial forces on a national scale made more pressing the need for

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ed. The trade local in turn joined the national union of its craft wherever the chance presented itself. At the present time practically the same policy is followed. According to the latest(Jan.6,1905) report of the American Federation, there are 1,181 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated with the national federation. - See American Federationist, January, 1905, p.44.

(2) The latter type preceded by many years the former, and was at one time the only example of federative activity in the labor world.

(1) In 1881, ten city federations were represented in the convention of "Organized Trades and Labor Unions." In 1904 the President of the American Federation of Labor reported

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national labor organizations along trade lines. As an immediate result, "national trades assemblies" closely analogous to the national trade union emerged.

Under the law enacted by the General Assembly at the convention of 1882, there were two methods by which any craft within the Knights of Labor could organize as a national trade assembly of the order, and gain the advantage of autonomy over trade affairs as well as close association with other branches of organized labor. The first was in accordance with an amendment to the constitution which permitted five or more trade locals to petition the executive board to call a convention for the purpose of forming a trade district.(1) The members of any trade could organize nationally under this provision by bringing local assemblies situated in all parts of the country under a common supervision.(2)

The second method was used where trades were organized by branches in local assemblies. In such cases each

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ed 569 central labor unions affiliated with that organization.

(2) "Constitution of General Assembly, Order of the Knights of Labor, 1884", Art. XII., Sec. 1. p.22.

(1) Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1882, p.864.
(2) The National Harness, Saddle and Collar Makers' Trade Assembly was thus formed in 1883; -see Journal of United Labor, July, 1883.

trade could form a council composed of three delegates from each local assembly. To this council all trade matters were referred independently of the district assembly to which the respective local assemblies were attached. Carrying this formation a step further, the law provided for national trade councils which could carry on the work of local councils on a large scale.(1) Thus, trade locals in all parts of the United States and Canada might continue under their respective district assemblies or be attached to the General Assembly as the case might be, and obtain the additional advantage of having their trade problems considered by representatives of their own craft.(2)

The national trade assembly and the national trade union differed in one important respect. The national

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(1) Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1882, p.388.
(2) In 1887, when the reaction toward national trade unions had fully set in, the General Secretary Treasurer reported that there were twenty-two national trade assemblies in the Order. Thereafter, organized labor in the United States tended to form national trade unions which either remained independent or became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

trade assembly was entirely subordinate to the General Assembly, the highest tribunal of the Order; the national trade union stood independent in itself, acknowledging a nominal allegiance to the American Federation only as a concession to the larger aims of labor.

The activity of the two federations in carrying out their respective plans of organization, as outlined above, resulted from time to time in serious conflict. In theory any agreement whereby one organization with its branches subordinated itself to the other would have prevented discord. For instance the Knights of Labor might have affiliated with the American Federation on an equality with national trade unions. But personal enmity among the Leaders who steadily refused to concede recognition to the rival federation made a permanent understanding impossible. As each persisted in its efforts to include all wage earners, the circles of activity intersected, with the consequence of dual authority on the part of the federations and divid-

(1) The nearest approach to authority exercised by the American Federation occurs in jurisdiction disputes between national trade unions, where the Federation acts in a judicial capacity. The officials of the Federation assert that one of the strongest elements in the success of the organization has been the absence of any attempt to exercise power over the national unions. The real bond of union, according to this opinion, is the good will and confidence of the constituent members.

ed loyalty on the part of the individual members.(1)

Upon the question of organizing, the American Federation of Labor profiting by the experience of earlier federations took a firm stand. A principal weakness of the older Central Labor Unions was the constant irritation and strife incident to the overlapping of trade boundaries and trade jurisdiction. The American Federation from the beginning determined to avoid this weakness by resolutely opposing dual organization in any one trade. If an exception were made in favor of the Knights of Labor Assemblies a dangerous precedent would be established and the growth of a unified trade autonomy be retarded. Where dual affiliation did exist, for example, in the printing, hat, cigar, and brewing industries, and where individuals held dual membership in the unions and in the Knights of Labor, it was seen strict trade autonomy could not be maintained.(2)

The Knights of Labor on the other hand, having in mind the

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(1) A circular issued by authority of the 1882 convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions declared, as follows: "The open trades unions, national and international can and ought to work side by side with the Knights of Labor, and this would be the case were it not for men over-zealous or ambitious. Each should understand its proper place and work in that sphere."

(2) The opposition to the national trade assembly of the Knights, in particular, arose not from the lack of trade autonomy so much as from the persistent attempts of the officials to organize trade assemblies of trades having a national or international union.

absolute control which the General Assembly had over all branches in case of dispute were anxious to secure as members, persons already belonging to local and national trade unions. Carrying out this policy led the Knights into serious conflict with the national trade union. Among other organizations affected in this way was the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union whose attitude toward the Knights of Labor is typical of the period. The national secretary of the union in an official statement declared (Oct. 1, 1886): We claim that any District Assembly of Knights of Labor Masons, in or near a locality where a Branch of an organization exists, is a direct injury to the advancement of our craft, for we claim and demand that all men following a distinct calling having a national or international trades union in existence should be required to join the order of his calling and no other, so that all may be members of a parent organization." (1) In the light of these considerations, it becomes clear why the American Federation so persistently opposed all efforts of the Knights of Labor to organize those trades already affiliated with the national federation into district and national trade

(1) Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, Secretary's Report to the 21st Annual Convention, 1887, p. 105.

assemblies. The question came up for settlement at repeated conferences, the American Federation[1] adhering throughout to its original stand against dual affiliation in trade organization. At a meeting held in Philadelphia, 1890, between representatives of the Knights of Labor and national trade unions, the latter proposed as the basis of an adjustment, that the "charter of any Knights of Labor Assembly of any trade having a national or international union shall be revoked, and the members of the same be requested to join a mixed assembly or form a local union under the jurisdiction of their national or international union."[2] So long as the mixed assembly did not act as a trade union in trade affairs, no valid objection could be raised. Renewed efforts were made from time to time to reach an amicable settlement. In 1889, and again in 1891, the proposition was re-stated by the Federation with slight modification of terms. The American Federation of Labor promised in 1889 that should the Knights of Labor "discountenance and revoke the charters of all trade assemblies or dis-

(1) The Federation of Trades and Labor Unions formed in 1881 joined the conference of trades unions held in Columbus, O., Dec. 8, 1886, and became the American Federation of Labor.

(2) Report of Committee of Conference of Knights of Labor and Trade Unions, 1890. Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1887, pp. 1444-1447.

tricts within the Order, the "Federation would agree to urge its members and all working people to become members of mixed assemblies of the Knights of Labor."

The adoption of this plan would have given the national unions affiliated with the Federation complete control over their respective fields in all trade matters, and would have left to the local and district assemblies of the Knights of Labor the work of intellectual, social and political improvement. In other words, the Knights of Labor divested of all trade authority, would have become the central reform bureau of the labor movement.(1) The Knights of Labor, however, refused to accept the terms proposed, and the Federation decided at the annual convention of 1894, that no meeting or conference with the Knights of Labor officials shall be held until they declare against dual organizations in any one trade.

The opposed principles of the two organizations met sharply in a single issue,- the mutual recognition of working cards. The matter was vital to each organization. If

(1) It is worthy of note that during this period of agitation against dual organization, some ten or more Trade Assemblies, acting efficiently as trade organizations, existed within the Knights of Labor.

the Federation and the National trade union did not recognise the mixed assembly and the trade assembly as bonafide locals, then the members were not union men and could not work with union men in closed shops. On the other hand, if the working card of the Knights of Labor were respected by the trade unions the members by that act gained status as union men, and the Federation practically lost its fight for trade autonomy.(1)

In 1886, when the Committee of Trade unions suggested a permanent truce,(2) the Knights of Labor proposed the mutual exchange and recognition of working cards,- "the card of any member of the Order admitting him to work in any union shop, and the card of any union man admitting him to work in any Knights of Labor shop".(3) The Federation of Labor refused to concede this position on the ground of self-preservation since blacklisted and expelled members of trade unions or even men hostile to trade unionism, could be initiated into the Order. Thereafter, trade unions would be obligated to accept the cards of these non-union men. Even though the Knights of Labor renounced such an

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(1) Report of Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention", American Federation of Labor, 1894, p.66.

(2) The Conference held in May, 1886, when the treaty was proposed by the trade unions, met for the purpose of "discussing past grievances, and to pave the way for the avoidance of future ones." Proceedings of the General Assembly 1887, p.1444.

(3) Report, Committee of Conference, Knights of Labor and [illegible]

intention the constitutional power to do so was present and remained a menace so long as the standards of the two federations with regard to union membership were different.

On the other hand, the Knights of Labor suffered if the mutual recognition of working cards failed of adoption. Where a temporary alliance of forces was necessary, as in a sympathetic strike, the Knights could hardly be expected to work shoulder to shoulder with unionists, if at the conclusion of the struggle, the trade unions could boycott the unions belonging to the order by refusing to recognize the working card. The unfavorable attitude of the Federation meant little to the Knights in 1886 when the order was strong and influential. With the growth of the trade union and the corresponding decline of the mixed assembly, the question became more serious.(1) No adjustment or compromise was ever reached, and it was only when the Knights of Labor ceased to hold an important position in the labor movement that the question at issue between the organizations practically settled itself.

From this review of the structural differences between the two federations, attention can now properly be turned to a comparison of their respective activities in

(1) -See pp.12,13, National Trade Assemblies.

certain typical fields. This will involve a survey of the policies of the two organizations with respect to (a) the union label, (b) cooperation, (c) strikes and boycotts, (d) the eight-hour day, (e) politics and legislation.

The trade label was first used by a local cigar makers' union in San Francisco in 1874 to distinguish American made cigars from the work of Chinese competitors. Local assemblies of cigar makers were active in the Knights of Labor as early as 1882 (1) but apparently no difference manifested itself between the assemblies and the unions with respect to the label. The Journal of the Knights of Labor declared in November, 1882, "Both organizations, the Knights and the Cigar Makers' International Union have a common purpose in trying to protect the product of union labor". Unfortunately, however, whereas the Cigar Makers' Union had adopted a blue label as the stamp of union goods, the Knights of Labor wishing a distinctive mark chose a white cigar label (2) to circulate side by side with the blue label of the Union. Largely as a result of this policy, the harmony at first present soon gave way to a keen com-

(1) Proceedings of the General Assembly, Knights of Labor 1882, pp. 394,575.
(2) The White label was changed in 1887 to a yellow cigar label, Proceedings, 1887, p.1672, Official Circular, No.14.

petition between the two organizations, growing more and more intense, until it became bitter rivalry and open conflict. The general principle at issue in the controversy was the right of the Knights of Labor to organize whom they pleased, since the Cigar Makers' Union objected to the initiation into the Order of workmen who had been branded as unfair by the Union. It was claimed that early in 1886, during a lockout by manufacturers in New York City in consequence of a strike against reduction of wages, certain cigar factories involved had been organized by the Knights of Labor. Similar acts of hostility, the Union asserted, had been committed at Milwaukee and Syracuse.(1) Notwithstanding a promise made by the General Executive Board of the Order to the Cigar Makers' Union to investigate the charges as soon as opportunity would permit, and to revoke the charter of the offending assembly if the statements proved correct, the trade union ordered a boycott against all cigars bearing the label of the Knights and endeavored in every possible way to discredit the Order.(2)(3)

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(1) "Proceedings of the General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1886, Special Session", pp. 30,50. In a letter to the General Master Workman of the Knights dated March 6, 1886, the President of the Cigar Makers' International Union said: "I consider the action of your organizers in New York City a bold and unscrupulous attack upon recognized trade-union principles, and as hostile to the Cigar Makers' International Union in particular."

(2) The great strike on the Missouri Pacific railway system was then in progress. (3) Proc., Gen. Assembly, 1886, [illegible]

In retaliation, the General Assembly in 1886 adopted a resolution ordering all employes in the cigar trade, who were both members of the Knights of Labor and the Cigar Makers' International Union, to withdraw from the Union or leave the Order.(1) This resolution marked a turning-point in trade union history in that it gave a determining impetus to the movement already strong away from the Knights of Labor Assembly in the direction of the autonomous trade union. The Order discovered its mistake as soon as the convention of 1886 had adjourned, and at the following convention endeavored to correct the error by the following amendatory action: "Resolved, That members expelled from the Order by the mandate adopted at the Richmond General Assembly concerning members belonging to the Cigar Makers' International Union be reinstated without paying initiation fees or back dues, and that all local assemblies are hereby ordered to place in good standing all members expelled by said Order."(2)

Throughout the controversy between the Knights of Labor and the Cigar Makers, the 'Federation of Trades' had exerted its influence in favor of the Union. If the Feder-

(1) Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1886, pp. 280, 282
(2) Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1887, pp.1783, 1822.

eration had recognized the labels of the Knights of Labor, the Order would have been virtually granted full rights as a union, and vested with coordinate authority in the conduct of trade matters. To prevent this condition, the proposed 'treaty' of 1886 contained the provision that "the Knights of Labor shall not establish or issue any trade mark or label now issued, or that may be hereafter issued by any national or international trade union."(1) The Knights of Labor, however, regarded itself as a pioneer in the use of the label and refused to part with its independent use. At subsequent conferences between representatives of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation, the two organizations insisted on their respective demands without definite result.

The methods employed by the two organizations in extending the use of the trade label have been largely influenced by their structural differences. The Knights of Labor highly centralized have been able to limit the issue of the labels from headquarters, and to vest the General Executive Board with complete control over their distribu-

(1) Report of the Committee of Conference, Knights of Labor and Trade Unions, 1886; - see Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1887, p.1446.

tion.[1] Thus the constitution (1901) of the General Assembly provides (Art. IV., part of sec. 19): "The General Executive Board shall take charge of and regulate all seals or protective designs to be distributed to members of the Order, in such form as will be of service in protecting the products of their labor, and shall prescribe such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary for the use of the same; and no Assembly or other branch of the Order under penalty of forfeiture of charter, shall indorse or sanction the use of any seal or design not issued or indorsed by this Board."

The American Federation, on the other hand, made no attempt to control the labels of national and international unions, merely indorsing and advocating those already adopted by the different trades,[2] by calling upon all union men to demand goods having the union stamp, and urging the formation of active label leagues to aid in educating the consuming public to the nature, appearance, and value of trade labels.

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(1) The General Assembly has never declined to retain trade labels so long as each bears in addition thereto the distinctive mark of the Order, - a triangle within a circle.

(2) A single exception is the case of local and federal labor unions directly attached to the American Federation, where the labels are sent from national headquarters.

In order to gain uniformity and more particularly to prevent counterfeiting the Federation has from time to time suggested a universal label.[1] In 1900 the officials of the 'Federation' obtained an opinion with regard to its legal status, to the effect that if all unions would surrender their labels and adopt that of the Federation of Labor as the authorized one, counterfeiting could be punished by law. Inasmuch as this would involve the surrender by each union of some part of the very trade autonomy for which the Federation has always contended, and the recognition of the Federation as one organization, at least for the purpose of "issuing, controlling, protecting, and defending the universal label",[2] the step has not been taken.

It is clear that the founders of the Knights of Labor conceived an industrial system in which men would work for themselves instead of for others. For such an undertaking the structure of the Knights of Labor was far superior to that of the rival federation. The mixed assembly comprised men in many walks of life, and controlled demand

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(1) The General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor in 1884 adopted a general label to be used upon all goods manufactured or sold by members, but this device was soon replaced by individual trade labels. Proceedings of General Assembly, 1884, pp, 624-625.

(2) American Federationist, December, 1900, pp. 376-377; Report of Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 30.

as well as production. If a trade local embarked on a co-operative enterprise, the chances of success were minimized by virtue of the limited number directly concerned; but when a mixed local in a community organized into Knights of Labor Assemblies ventured on independent production, the collective patronage affiliated therewith assured a market.

Two schools of thought early differentiated themselves in the Knights of Labor. The one advocated an aggressive policy of strikes in order to enforce demands. The other, representing the conservative element, emphasized the futility of strikes as a factor in attaining permanent reform. It was due to the influence of the peace adherents that cooperation found persistent encouragement. In June, 1882, a cooperative fund, with a compulsory feature attached, was established. From this fund investments were made and enterprises started as the financial condition of the Order justified.

The compulsory nature of the law however proved a serious defect and led to the adoption of an amendment making contributions voluntary (1)

With modified machinery, the officials thereafter sought to realize at least in some degree the industrial state conceived as an ultimate aim of the movement. Expe-

(1) Constitution of the General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1884, p.16.

iments in cooperative stores, factories, and institutions, were reported in 1882 from seventeen out of one hundred localities;[1] and in 1887 the General Cooperative Board[2] announced eight halls and buildings, eleven newspapers and fifty-four work-shops, factories, etc., engaged in productive cooperation.[3] In spite of careful preparation, the general result of such ventures was disappointing, leading to increasing reluctance to embark on independent undertakings and even to a desire to abolish the Cooperative Board.

Probably the chief cause of failure was the lack of business experience in the management of the cooperation enterprises. Such undertakings ordinarily originated in a strike or lockout, where men entered upon the project with funds drawn from the central treasury. As soon as the trouble ceased, and the choice arose between a certain position and participation in a risky venture, the enthusiasm so apparent at first abated, often bringing a total loss upon

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(1) Proceedings of the General Assembly, K. of L. Sixth Regular Session, 1882, p.291.
(2) The Cooperative Board was created at the New York Session of 1882, for the purpose of encouraging and conducting cooperative enterprises. Proceedings of the General Assembly, Eighth Regular Session, 1884, p.599.
(3) Proceedings of the General Assembly, Knights of Labor, Eleventh Regular Session, 1887; Report of the General Cooperative Board.

the General Assembly.(1) The small confidence placed in the managers, engendering jealousies and constant suspicion, and the opposition met with on all sides from capitalist producers, may also be cited as important influences in the business failure of the Knights.

The ideal cooperation as conceived by the Order was the establishment and maintenance of industrial peace by bringing both parties to an industrial dispute under one membership. Consequently the Knights designed to include employers as well as employes. Though this ideal likewise was not realized, it explains the readiness with which the Knights so often consulted the wishes of the employers, and the willingness with which the Order joined hands with one class of employers, - The Farmers' Alliance. The American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, made no attempt to become an employer through cooperative enterprises, and even refused to organize farmers into unions on the ground that they were employing farmers and not workmen.

(1) The most ambitious venture of the Knights of Labor in cooperation took place in 1884, when a coal mine at Connelsburg, Ind. was purchased for $10,000. An assessment of 40 cents per member was levied in October, 1884, for the purpose of making needed improvements. The General Secretary in his report to the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly, 1887, said: "Among the receipts of the office will be shown in the neighborhood of $2000 received from the Union Mining Company, (the company to whom the Order had leased the mine), on account of the Connellsburg Coal Mine. We shall all be glad to learn that the investment of more than $20,000, instead of being a dead loss bids fair

Boycott -

The Knights of Labor in principle have stood consistently for the arbitration of all grievances with employers, (1) and as a last resort for boycott. The same width of organization that facilitated the distribution of cooperative products was potent in the field of general consumption, and could make effective use of the boycott in this connection. Designed as a temporary expedient, this device reached more deeply than the strike, and without involving the reciprocal suffering attendant upon all protracted struggles.

In the use of the boycott, the more closely federated form of organization enjoyed a peculiar advantage. A trade union in any locality might cease purchasing an article without appreciably reducing its sale, since the number of consumers observing the boycott is necessarily small, but an assembly of the Knights of Labor supported by a large proportion of the laboring consumers in the vicinity wielded an influence proportional to the purchasing power

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to be a source of income to the Order". Misfortunes, however, followed in rapid succession, until in 1897, the General Executive Board decided to sell the mine for $4000. -See Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1897, p.34.

(1) The preamble adopted by the General Assembly in 1878 favored "the substitution of arbitration for strikes, whenever and wherever employers and employes are willing to meet on equitable grounds; and the preamble to the constitution of 1888 included as one of its demands, (sec. 10) "the enactment of laws providing for arbitration between

of all the members interested. More important still, under the centralized power by which the General Assembly controlled the subordinate divisions a boycott secured strict observance on the part of all members.(1) In actual practice however the General Executive Board, which had authority to place a boycott, usually depended on the voluntary action of the membership. Circulars containing a full statement of the case were sent to the local assemblies, with the request that they be read at successive meetings to acquaint the members with the facts. In some cases, pressure was brought to bear on retail dealers who were accustomed to handle the goods manufactured by the boycotted firm.(2)

The American Federation of Labor, appreciating its weakness in the field of cooperation, has paid considerable attention to the exercise of the boycott as a federation function. The usual method employed in placing a boycott is somewhat as follows: Local or national unions who have grievances against certain firms send resolutions to the

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employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators."

(1) "An order issued by the General Executive Board, whether in the form of a circular or through the columns of the official journal must be obeyed; and the assembly that refuses to obey is guilty of insubordination and may be suspended"; - see "Decisions of the General Master Workman", 1890, No. 60

(2) Journal of United Labor, February 11 and 25, 1888.

headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. The committee of the Federation whose duty it is to investigate the justice of the complaint, reports to the Executive Council, or to the annual convention if in session. In case of a favorable report, a boycott is declared on the products of the firms involved, and the names of the manufacturers are published monthly in the "Unfair List" of The American Federationist, the official journal of the American Federation of Labor. In addition to placing the firms on the "Unfair List", circulars are sent to the Unions composing the Federation which request all union men to cease purchasing the products of the boycotted firms. (1) At the present time the national officials exercise considerable care in the use of the boycott, and concentrate attention upon a small number

(1) An example of this is as follows:

Notice:

Headquarters American Federation of Labor,
423-425 G St., N.W., Washington,
D.C.

February 25, 1905.

To all Affiliated Unions:

At the request of the unions interested, and after due investigation and attempt at settlement, the following concerns have been declared Unfair:

(Then follows a list of the firms)

Secretaries are requested to read this notice at union meetings, and labor and reform press please copy.

Fraternally Yours,
Samuel Gompers, Pres. A.F.
of L.

of firms on the unfair list against whom more effective efforts may be directed.(1)

Strikes -

In the fourth convention at Pittsburg, 1880, the Knights of Labor declared that "Strikes are as a rule productive of more injury than benefit to the working people, consequently, all attempts to foment strikes will be discouraged".(2) At that time no provision for strikes appeared in the constitution; but in actual contact with practical affairs, a periodic fever to strike swept over the membership and strike regulations became necessary. Thus, in the constitution of 1884, provision was made for district executive boards who had power to accept or reject the terms offered by employers in a contemplated strike.(3) Moreover, a district assembly, having ordered a strike of any local

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(1) Report of Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor, 1904, p.85.

(2) The General Master Workman in his address to the sixth regular session of the General Assembly, 1882, said "A strike cannot remove or repeal unjust laws, for, at best, the strike secures but a temporary relief; it may result in an advance of wages, but, if so, it is a dearly bought victory, and at the first available opportunity another reduction is imposed;" - see Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1882, p. 278.

(3) Constitution for District Assemblies, K. of L., 1884, Article VII., Sec. 2.

in its jurisdiction, was privileged to draw upon the funds of other district assemblies whenever its assistance fund had become exhausted.(1) The amount received in this way from different assemblies was considered a loan without interest to be repaid as soon as possible.

The movement was not confined to trade or local strikes, however, for strong influences were at work to convert the Order into an aggressive militant organization. Accepting the motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all", in the literal sense, the newly initiated element sought to widen the area of every strike by ordering out all employes of an offending employer.(2) The most conspicuous example of this tendency, and in fact the first great sympathetic strike took place in 1886 on the Southwestern Railroad System.(3) The trouble concerned one branch alone, but the District Assembly, acting upon the authority granted by the constitution, ordered a general strike. The constitutional provision read as follows: "District Assem-

(1) Constitution of the General Assembly, 1884, Art. XV., Sec. 6.

(2) The Knights of Labor, as we have seen, were well fitted for an undertaking of this character, controlling as they did all trades alike, and reserving the right to order all subordinate divisions on strike whenever the situation justified such action.

(3) Hall, "Sympathetic Strikes and Sympathetic Lockouts" in Columbia University Studies, Vol. X., p.82.

blies may adopt such rules and regulations in regard to strikes as they deem best, but no strike shall be entered into or authorized until every possible effort has been made to settle the difficulty by arbitration."(1)

The strike on the Southwestern division met with disaster, and cast the whole reasoning which favored sympathetic movements into temporary discredit. Resolutions were adopted at the special session of the General Assembly, 1886, forbidding any local, trade, district, or state assembly to declare a strike before a secret ballot had been taken of all the members in good standing, and in no case permitting a strike unless two-thirds of those immediately concerned voted in favor of it.(2) In two other instances the Knights of Labor tried similar experiments on a large scale and each time failed in their demands. Though the machinery for carrying on sympathetic strikes remained, the order thereafter accepted the general verdict that federation activity in this field does not pay.(3)

The American Federation of Labor has regarded strikes as the best means to gain trade union ends under a

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(1) Constitution for District Assemblies, 1899, Art. VII., Sec. 1.
(2) Record of Proceedings of Special Session of the General Assembly, 1886, p.49.
(3) The two strikes referred to are the Lumshoremen strike which began the first week in January, 1887, and the Reading Railroad Strike of 1888.

system of capitalistic production, has advocated thorough organization along trade lines as the strongest protection to labor. Being merely an advisory centre, and depending upon the voluntary loyalty of trade unionists working through their respective nationals, the Federation has been unable to act positively or directly with respect to strikes. It could recommend and urge certain policies,(1) but it lacked the centralized control so prominent in the Knights of Labor. Consequently, the Federation, fully aware of this limitation, and profiting by the costly experiences of its contemporary, has followed a conservative course through the various conflicts between employer and employee and has acted only as a source of moral and financial support to the national unions involved.(2) The secretary of the American Federation before the fifteenth annual convention, 1895, in explaining the attitude of the organization declared that sympathetic strikes were not opposed and assistance would be given whenever it was needed. Still there

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(1) The officials of the Federation of Labor, for example, have consistently urged high dues and benefits as the most important principle for the trade unions to adopt, and have impressed the fact that a strong treasury is the greater factor in a successful strike.

(2) For instance, in the convention of the American Federation held at San Francisco, November, 1904, an assessment of one cent per week for three weeks was levied on the membership to aid the "United Textile Workers" in the strike at Fall River, Mass. - See Proceedings of A. F. of L., 1904, p.155.

was a limit to the assistance exacted of one union in support of another union, and the safest plan was to allow the individual organization itself to be the judge.

This position when strictly adhered to limits the federation in its activity to a convenient centre from which moral and financial aid may be distributed. The leaders in the organization have used as a rallying cry, "the power of labor is the power to abstain from labor", and have tried to teach organized labor the most favorable as well as the most unfavorable times to strike. The tendency, therefore, under the influence of the American Federation has been away from the general or sympathetic strike, and has led to the adoption of a different plan based on individual trade strikes.

Eight-Hour Day -

In the original platform of the Knights of Labor an eight-hour plank figured prominently: "The reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, so that the laborers may have more time for social enjoyment and intellectual improvement, and be enabled to reap the advantages conferred by the labor-saving machinery which their brains have created."(1) In 1882, the platform of the Federation of Or-

(1) Constitution of the General Assembly, 1878. Preamble, Sec. XIV.

ganized Trades and Labor Unions, later the American Federation of Labor declared in the first section, "the National Eight-Hour Law is one intended to benefit labor and relieve it partly of its burdens. **** We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers." (1) A resolution at the third session, 1883, stated that "the Federation considers the question of shortening the hours of labor as paramount to all other questions at present;" and in the secretary's report to the convention of 1884, we find a plan strongly urged to shorten the hours of labor. "It appears to be the generally expressed desire of the societies represented in this Federation that it assume the initiative in a national movement for the reduction of the hours. Sporadic attempts of individual trades in certain localities have met with varying degrees of success, but there is little doubt that a universal, centrally directed advance would prove both practical and triumphant." It was suggested thereupon to take a vote in all labor organizations before the next conventions as to the desirability of a universal strike not later than May 1, 1886, when all

(1) Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, Second Session, 1882, p.1.

branches should simultaneously demand an eight-hour day. Realizing that the 'Federation' was too weak both in authority and numerical strength, the officials asked the cooperation of the Knights of Labor in order to make the chances of success more probable.[2] The latter organization with a machinery of government well adapted to such a purpose, failed to support the movement, and the plan did not reach serious proportions.[3] The next attempt came in 1888, when a resolution passed the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor fixing May 1, 1890 as the day for a general strike, and designating certain intermediate days on which simultaneous mass-meetings in all the cities might be held.[4] Another conference with the Knights of Labor followed for the purpose of forming a temporary alliance, and though negotiations were again unable to bring the organizations together, the American Federation continued to make preparations for the proposed struggle. As the date mentioned in the resolution approached, the officials sent circulars, pamphlets, and prominent speakers to different parts of the country preliminary to the final move which

(1) Fourth Session Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Union, 1884, pp. 19-20.
(2) Report of the Fourth Annual Session, Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, 1884, p. 31.
(3) At the Eleventh Regular Session, 1887, of the General Assembly Knights of Labor, the report of the Committee on

seemed near at hand.

The more advanced leaders agreed in the light of previous general strike failures, that the movement would have a better guarantee of success if special trades were selected to make the fight supported by the combined powers of the other unions working through the 'Federation'. Clearly the more comprehensive the strike, and the greater the number involved, the smaller the group of workers who could aid the strikers by financial contributions. As the numerical strength grew, the base of supplies relatively diminished - an increasing demand on a shrinking treasury. In other words, a general strike would have been most effective if one united effort could have gained the end sought; but if the strike had lasted any length of time, sure defeat would have stared the strikers in the face. The more mature judgment prevailing, a series of individual trade strikes was determined upon, in which one trade after the

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the state of the Order was adopted as follows: "Resolved, that the General Master Workman confer with the heads of International and National Labor organizations with a view to holding a convention to bring about the adoption of the eight-hour law by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor." p. 1822, Proceedings.

Nothing of immediate importance seems to have resulted from this action.

(4) Report of the Third Annual Session, American Federation of Labor, 1888, p.29.

other would be selected according to strength and strategic position until all trades had obtained the eight-hour day.[1]

In the light of the present predominance of the American Federation form of organization in the labor world one naturally concludes that the successive strike will be the favored line of activity when similar needs suggest hostile measures.[2] There seems to be little doubt, moreover that a series of trade strikes well directed and supported by the full strength of the working trade unionists will be most effective so long as a non-centralized organization like the American Federation maintains the leadership.[3]

Political Activity -

The methods employed by trade organizations to relieve social evils and gain positive advantages through participation in public affairs are (a) party political ac-

(1) The plan was not fully carried out, but in the eight-hour strike of 1890, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was selected by the Federation to take the fight. A special assessment was levied and every effort made to win the strike. As a direct result the Carpenters and Joiners established the eight-hour day in several important cit
(2) At the 24th Annual Convention, the American Federation indorsed the eight-hour movement of the International Typographical Union, and pledged both moral and financial support. The Federation further decided that if at any time after January 1, 1905, the Typographical Union needs financial assistance to insure the success of the movement, the Executive Board shall levy the constitutional assessment on

tion, (b) temporary alliances with representatives of political parties in order to obtain legislation favorable to labor.

The Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor have both recognized the advantages that a federation of trades has over single trade unions in any reform movement, and have shaped their respective policies accordingly. A sharp distinction arises, however, in the emphasis placed on the different methods. The Knights of Labor as an organization was consciously designed for political activity; the American Federation held the position that more good could be accomplished by leaving party politics alone and centering attention upon labor legislation.

The position of the Knights of Labor was explained by the General Master Workman in an address to the seventh session of the General Assembly. "One reason why political parties degenerate is because the masses of the common people are not educated. If we were, we could more easily

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the affiliated unions. - Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1904, pp. 180-181.

(3) The above statement applies only to unions in the national federation that have kept their trade boundaries intact. The recent development of a distinct type, the Industrial Union, in contrast to the Trade Union, causes a modification of the statement, since a strike by an Industrial Union like the United Mine Workers and the United Brewery Workers involves all employes of a given employer and is of necessity a general strike.

discern the difference between good and bad legislation; and we would not be clamoring so often for the repeal of bad laws. The chief aim of the Knights of Labor is to educate, not only men, but parties; educate men first that they may educate parties and govern them intelligently and honestly."(1) In accordance with this view education as a means to the larger end became an important branch of activity. Furthermore, the structure of the local assembly of the Knights was especially adapted to educate its members, since it embraced as a rule men of various callings and widely different walks of life. Where men of a single craft held aloof from members of other trades the sympathy and concord so vital to any decisive advance were considered lacking. On the contrary, an organization like the Knights of Labor representing a highly centralized type of federation and disregarding the trade boundaries formerly observed, was well prepared theoretically to educate its members and promote a feeling of solidarity among all classes of laborers. In the second regular session of the General Assembly the resolution was adopted "that each local Assembly shall devote not less than ten minutes nor more

(1) Proceedings of the Seventh Session of the General Assembly, 1883, p.10. Quoted from an article which appeared in the Pittsburg Times of July 16, 1883.

than one hour of each session thereof to the discussion of subjects bearing upon the labor question, such as convict labor, eight-hours, child labor, how can the toiler receive a just share of the wealth he creates, etc." (1) In this case the plan developed into a practical effort to suggest fruitful lines of thought, and bring the man into more intelligent relationship with the problems of his environment. Activity extended beyond local participation, and the General Executive Board appointed lecturers from time to time who visited the assemblies and addressed them upon contemporary topics.

In May, 1880, appeared the first number of the "Journal of United Labor", primarily designed as a medium of communication between the branches of the order, and as an unprejudiced herald of advanced views. Unable to maintain the independence of a non-partisan publication, it gradually grew more biased as the struggle with external forces became more bitter, until the original purpose of an educational organ almost wholly disappeared.

Trade unions, on the other hand, were organized to better material conditions and made little room to intellectual and moral improvement. To right trade matters by

(1) "Record of the Proceedings of Second Regular Session of the General Assembly", 1879, pp. 28-29.

confronting the employer with unbroken strength was of more immediate concern than any indirect gain from educational projects. Hence, the trade unionist, though deprived of the cosmopolitan atmosphere enjoyed by the Knights of Labor in the mixed assembly, found ample compensation in the uninterrupted discussion of trade topics with members of his own craft. He relied upon external sources for his knowledge of the trade union world. Where the Federal Labor Union existed, no positive programme received strict attention, since it was regarded as a temporary form to be disbanded as soon as its members could be transferred to local trade unions of the respective nationals. The educational function of this elementary division was thus small owing to the lack of permanency in structure.

The structure of the Knights of Labor, besides affording ample opportunity for the mental improvement of the individual was highly efficient in the field of political action. Here again, the advantages of a centralized organization co-extensive with the domain of labor were marked. Trade unionists in their independent organizations were too weak, numerically, to change the result of an election, while the members of the Knights of Labor pledged to mutual helpfulness controlled the issues at stake.

With the advent of the order, the belief that labor must carry its demands beyond the workshop, and crystallize into statute law definite reforms, received greater attention than ever before. The Constitution of 1879, Article X., Sec. 1., stated, "a District Assembly or a Local Assembly under the General Assembly may take such political action as will tend to advance the interests of the Order or the cause of labor. But when political action is contemplated, the regular business of the District Assembly or the Local Asembly shall be concluded, and the District Assembly or Local Assembly regularly closed. (sec. 2) Local Assemblies may properly use their political power in all legislative elections, and it is left to the discretion of each Local Assembly to act with that party through which it can gain the most. An Assembly shall not take political action unless three-fourths of the attending members are united in supporting such action. No members, however, shall be compelled to vote with the majority". From 1880 to 1886, the intense interest manifested in political affairs occasioned a note of warning from headquarters, "so surely as we run into politics shall we be disrupted". It appears that designing men, seeing the importance of the order had joined for the express purpose of converting it into a voting ma-

chine for personal manipulation. In 1887, the order was on the verge of taking active part in the national campaign, and escaped only through the conservatism of the general officers. In many localities, the secret but powerful membership of the Knights had elected labor candidates. So successfully had these municipal elections resulted that the rank and file gradually became ambitious for greater victories. A party in which all reformers could find a place appeared a fitting substitute for the two corrupt, boss-ridden political organizations. Hence, in 1890, a further step was decided upon, and active agitation by the leaders stimulated a wave of enthusiasm which aimed materially in 1892, in the formation of the National People's Party, with "land, transportation, and finance", as the campaign cry.(2) Pledged in this manner to political action, the Federation dissipated much of its energies in vain efforts to make industrial forces politically supreme, and thereby caused the internal dissensions which have so often attended the political affiliation of labor organizations.

The American Federation, on the other hand, resisted the demands of the trade unions for political action. This

(1) Journal of the Knights of Labor, Vol. X., Nos. 48-49.
(2) Ibid., " XIII., No. 2.

freedom from affiliation with political parties has not been maintained without a struggle on the part of the ruling element in the 'Federation'. The first convention held at Pittsburg, declared "that we recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished." (1) At every convention of the American Federation, and at almost every meeting of Local, State and National Unions the same question has arisen in some form or other. So long as the pressure upon the 'Federation' to declare for independent action did not become annoying, a positive declaration of political principles was withheld. (2) But when the Socialist Labor Party sought admission into the American Federation, decisive action became necessary. The application of the 'Labor Party' was rejected on the ground that no political party as a party had a right to be represented in the councils of trade unions. Subsequent efforts

(1) Report of the First Annual Session of Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, 1881, p.4.

(2) The Committee on resolutions at the Convention of 1893 reported a political programme, the several planks of which were adopted separately with amendments at the Convention of 1894. The Convention of 1895, however, declared that 'the failure to adopt the planks as a whole was equivalent to a rejection, and, therefore, that "the American Federation has no political platform."

on the part of radical trade organizations became so persistent that the New York Convention of 1895 declared, "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor."(1) Numerous succeeding attempts to commit the organization to a definite political programme have been defeated, so that at the present time the American Federation stands independent of party affiliation.(2)

Legislative Activity -

The Knights of Labor, regarding legislative activity as incidental to the more direct policy of party political action, have pursued a vigilant, though independent course. The central executive has confined most of its attention to Washington in order to watch congressional legislation;(3)

(1) Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, 1896 Art. III., Sec. 8.

(2) The most persistent attempts have been made by the socialistic element in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. In 1894 and 1902, the sentiment with regard to independent political action was fairly divided; but in the conventions of 1895,1900, 1903 and 1904, resolutions with party political activity as the end in view were decisively defeated.

(3) The Cleveland session of 1886, for instance, adopted a resolution instructing the General Master Workman to appoint a legislative committee of three with headquarters at Washington during the session of Congress. - Proceedings of the General Assembly, Special Session, 1886, pp. 41-42.

the district and state Assemblies (1) have used their influence in state and local legislatures. In the early stages, the chief reward for this activity was not so much actual legislation, as a brighter outlook for future laws. The preliminary work was needed to clarify public vision, and had a beneficial effect in making less difficult the subsequent laws of the American Federation. Among the most important reforms proposed by the Knights have been Direct legislation, the Initiative and Referendum, a Bureau of Labor Statistics, Abolition of the Contract System on National, State and Municipal works, Compulsory Arbitration, and Prohibition of Child labor under the age of fifteen, and Government control of telegraph, telephone and railroads.

The American Federation appreciating the permanency of reform through legislation and discouraging party political action, has laid principal stress on this work as a federation function.

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(1) State Assemblies seem never to have played a very important part in the Knights of Labor. In the Report of the secretary-treasurer to the Tenth Annual Session held at Richmond in 1886, we read: "Under the present law they (State Assemblies) are a failure and are not thoroughly understood, some claiming to have jurisdiction over District Assemblies, which is not the case. State Assemblies to be of service to the order should be organized in every state from representatives of the several District Assemblies, where all matters appertaining to the order in the state should first be brought for settlement."

The State Assembly was designated apparently to relieve the duties of the General Executive Board, to be in the State the official representative of the Order, and to

As the 'Federation wielded little authority over the national unions, it had no way to command a unity of sentiment on any political issue. The probable result of independent political action would have been internal strife with danger of complete disruption. In the presence of this alternative the 'federation' chose to advocate labor legislation in preference to participating as an organization in national and state elections. At the present time the American Federation may and does freely take part in any move leading to an advance in labor conditions. Each convention delegates authority to the officials to centre attention on special reforms. The executive council frames a bill embodying the necessary provisions, and champions its course until it either dies or passes successfully through the various legal channels. The legislative Committee maintained at Washington is especially helpful in promoting this work; and in recent years among the chief reforms advocated have been, the National Eight-Hour law, Chinese Exclusion, The Initiative and Referendum, Trust legislation which does not aim at combinations of labor, Anti-Injunction laws, and the abolition of convict and imported contract labor.

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take active interest in state politics. - Proceedings of the Tenth Regular Session of the General Assembly, 1898, pp. 47-48.

In addition to these efforts, the 'Federation' has brought to bear from time to time influences to prevent governmental activity which might prove harmful to the working man. Important provisions of this character have been ~~government by injunction~~, anti-scalping laws, compulsory arbitration, and compulsory union incorporation.

Analogous to the functions performed at the National Capitol by the Central Federation are those activities of state and municipal alliances (1) which have for their object definite reforms. The legislative principles, varying with local conditions, depend upon the dominant opinion in the local federation with regard to trade union activity in politics. The more radical sections hold as an ultimate goal "the abolition of the wage system and the substitution of collective ownership by the people of all the means of production and distribution". This socialistic element desires organized labor to take part as a unit in all state and local elections. The more conservative, following the example of the national federation desire to exclude party

(1) The President of the American Federation of Labor reported to the San Francisco convention of 1904, a membership of thirty-two State Assemblies and five hundred and sixty-nine Central Labor Unions. - Proceedings, 1904, p. 17.

politics from the meeting-rooms, and to control the labor vote in the interest of those candidates who pronounce themselves labor sympathizers. The local federation obtains this expression of opinion usually from circulars sent to the candidates, and bearing pertinent questions with corresponding spaces for the candidate's reply.(1) Marked activity is likewise displayed in watching legislation and advocating plans for industrial and social betterment. In a majority of cases, the prevalence of the more conservative sentiment accounts for the emphasis placed on labor legislation.

From 1886, the year of greatest prosperity, the Knights of Labor have steadily declined in membership and power.(2) Among the influences contributing to this result may be cited,- the complete failure of expensive sympathetic strikes, the activity displayed in political affairs, the presence of two distinct forms of organization in the Order,- the mixed district assembly and the national trade assembly, and, finally, the over-centralization of power

(1) On the other hand, men known to be opposed to organized labor are declared unfair, and often defeated by the combined strength of a Central Labor Union.

(2) The Knights of Labor at the tenth regular session reported a membership of 702, 924 in good standing, July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1887, inclusive, showed total receipts of $447,650.09, and total disbursements of $491,668.91. (See report of the general treasurer for July 1886)

in the hands of the General Assembly and the national officers.

The American Federation, on the other hand, has shown marked progress within the last twenty years.(1) Contrary to the general policy of the Knights of Labor, it has advocated the individual trade strike in preference to the sympathetic strike; it has repeatedly placed itself on record as opposed to political action; it has advanced the principle of organization according to trades; and, finally, by guaranteeing to each national or international union complete jurisdiction over its own trade, has gained to a large extent the good-will of the individual members. So long as efficient leadership maintains the traditional conservatism there is every reason to suppose that the American Federation will remain an important factor.

(1) The American Federation of Labor in January, 1905 had an enrollment of 118 national and international unions. The average membership of the affiliated unions for the year ending September 30, 1904, was 1,676.00. The treasurer reported to the twenty-fourth annual convention, 1904, an income of $307,009.09, with total expenses of $203,931.15.

## THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION.

The most prominent activities of the American Labor Union may be considered under the following heads; (a) organization; (b) jurisdiction over subordinate divisions; (c) the label; (d) boycott; (e) strikes; (f) hours of work; (g) legislative and political activity.

(a) Perhaps the most direct aim (thus far) of the American Labor Union has been to increase the membership. The declaration of principles in the constitution of 1901 included as a direct object the establishment of a federation by states and provinces, so that all industrial questions arising in these political divisions may be controlled by the state or provincial organization. All workers in the state or province, including farmers (1) should receive their charters from, and be organized under the direction of, their respective local federations. At the annual conventions of the central alliances, delegates representing the various branches should legislate in the

(1) The American Federation refused to organize farmers claiming that they belonged to the employing class and were not workers.

interest of their constituents.[1]

During the year, April, 1902 - March, 1903, nearly one-half of the per capita tax receipts were expended for the purpose of organizing new members, and to this amount must be added the salary and expenses of the general president whose chief activities were as general organizer for the federation.[2] Aside from entering new fields, the federation endeavors constantly to bring the several locals or districts into closer relationship one with the other. An example of this activity follows:

"To Local Unions of the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners in the State of California: Greeting: - Before this time your union has, doubtless, received a call issued by San Francisco Federal Labor Union No. 347 for a State convention of all unions chartered by the American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, to be held in San Francisco, September 7th, for the purpose of forming

(1) Constitution, Western Labor Union, 1901, p.5. The name was changed to the American Labor Union at the Convention of 1902.

(2) Report of the secretary-treasurer. - Sixth Annual Convention, 1903, A. L. U.

a state organization of all unions connected either directly or indirectly, with the American Labor Union.

(Signed) Clarence Smith,

Secretary-Treasurer,
(1)
A.L.U.

In May, 1904, the American Labor Union had affiliated three general organizations, two state organizations - in Montana and California, eight district unions, and local unions in twenty-seven states, territories and provinces. (2)

In addition to these organizations, the American Labor Union has taken steps from time to time to win over certain eastern unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The United Brewery Workmen, an industrial union with the same general structure and aims as the other unions of the American Labor Union, have especially been urged to join. As illustrative of this activity, the fol-

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(1) American Labor Union Journal, August 27, 1903.

(2) A. L. U. Journal, May 12, 1904. To facilitate the work of organization, transfer cards have been issued by national, international and local unions affiliated with the American Labor Union, which admit the bearers to all other unions of the federation, subject only to the qualifications for membership in those unions. The street laborer, for instance, may present his card to the machinist union, and if he is competent, becomes a member without additional expense. - See A.L.U Journal, Nov. 19, 1903 and Constitution, 1903, Art. XII., Sec. 1.

lowing resolution passed the fifth annual convention.:

Whereas, the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen of America has always been friendly towards the Western Labor Union, and it being to the welfare of the Western Labor Union and the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen of America: be it

Resolved, that we extend the hand of fellowship and invite said Union of the United Brewery Workmen of America to join the Western Labor Union as a national body, a copy of this resolution to be sent to headquarters of said body."(1)

Although the United Brewery Workmen at the present time look with favor upon the American Labor Union and have several local unions affiliated with the federation, no action has been taken with a view to national affiliation.

The American Federation of Labor has discouraged this independent federation movement, and has advocated one general organization in place of several rival ones. Two delegates, for example, were sent to the 1902 convention of the Western Labor Union in the interest of international federations; one of whom made an address to the delegates

(1) - Proceedings, Fifth Annual Convention A.L.U., 1902, p. 77.

in which he declared: "You cannot have two organizations in America claiming the same jurisdiction without friction; it is difficult enough for international organizations to live to-day. We ask every wage-worker, organized and unorganized, to go into their local unions and to see that these local unions are affiliated with their national organizations, and that those national organizations should stand for unity,- namely, the American Federation of Labor."(1)

These overtures of the American Federation were not received kindly, and at the next convention, 1903, the secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union said in his annual report: "With all respect to those thousands of really earnest and sincere unionists who are members of the American Federation of Labor, it must be said that the attitude of the general officers and executive council of that organization during the past year has been such as to merit the supreme contempt of real unionists everywhere and to stamp them as the despicable traitors to the working class."(2) At the present time the two federations are pur-

(1) Proceedings Fifth Annual Convention A.L.U., 1902, pp. 40 - 42.

(2) Report of the secretary-treasurer Sixth Annual Convention, 1903, American Labor Union.

suing independent courses,- the American Federation standing for trade unionism, for individual trade strikes, and freedom from political affiliations; the American Labor Union advocating industrial unionism, sympathetic strikes, and international socialism.

Jurisdiction

In order to strengthen the central administration of American Labor Union, power is given to the general executive board to determine the jurisdiction of all national, international or local unions when not otherwise determined by the constitution.(1)

The constitution however declares that all employes, irrespective of trade, craft, occupation, or calling, engaged in one industry "shall be eligible to membership in and under the jurisdiction of a national and international chartered union having jurisdiction over that industry, etc."(2) This sweeping privilege removes to a large extent the occasion for jurisdiction disputes between national unions since industrial divisions at the present time are far

(1) Constitution, A.L.U. 1903, Article IV., Sec. 19.

(2) Ibid., Art. X., Sec. 4.

more clearly defined than trade divisions.(1)

On the other hand, the American Labor Union has shown a tendency to avoid the responsibility of jurisdiction decisions concerning two or more of its local unions. A resolution adopted at the fourth annual convention, 1901, declared, that the Federation had frequently been appealed to to settle jurisdiction differences between two affiliated organizations, that these appeals had multiplied without resulting in permanent good to the Western Labor Union, and that in future the federation shall act as arbitrator only in those cases in which both unions interested shall agree to submit the question, and abide by the decision rendered by the national federation.(2) An example of this activity is found in a decision rendered by the president and executive board of the federation soon after the close of the 1901 convention.

Butte, Montana,

Aug. 3, 1901.

To Butte Clerks' Protective Union,

No. 12, and Butte Teamsters' Union,

No. 15, Butte, Montana,

Greeting: In the matter of the controversy regarding ju-

(1) For instance, where all men employed in mining are in the miners' union, there is little room left for the claim of another union. But where each branch is organ-

risdiction between the Brewery Workmen and the Brewery Teamsters' Unions, we, the undersigned members of the Executive Board of the Western Labor Union, and representatives of the above unions interested, etc. ****** recommend that all teamsters driving for the commission houses, and wholesale grocery houses, etc., ( join the teamsters' union).(1)

Union Label -

Resolutions favoring the union label of different unions, and pledging the support of the Western Labor Union in the case of the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen and the Cigar Makers' International Union, passed the third annual session of 1900.(2) The following year the efforts of the United Brewery Workmen to increase the use of their label were heartily endorsed, and the following general resolution was adopted: "We the members of the Western Labor Union do hereby pledge ourselves to assist those organizations (producing union goods) by demanding

ized according to trade or craft, endless complications may arise under the present rapid industrial development.
(2) Fourth Annual Convention A.L.U., 1901, p.75.

(1) Proceedings, [illegible]th Annual Convention, 1902, p.[illegible].
(2) Proceedings Third Annual Convention Western Labor Union, 1900, pp. 63,82,83.

and purchasing no other class of goods than those which bear the union label."[1] At the sixth convention, however, the committee on resolutions recommended that the union label adopted by the American Labor Union be the only label issued by any local, national, or international union or organization affiliated with the national federation, and that the only difference permitted be with respect to size and shape, and not as to the design.[2] The acceptance of this report by the convention practically established a universal label to be used by all members of the American Labor Union.

The hostile attitude of certain eastern unions notably the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union might have influenced this action as the following resolution probably indicates:

Whereas, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is now, and has for some months passed, been engaged in a nefarious practice of furnishing strike breakers from its membership to take the

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(1) Proceedings, Fourth Annual Convention, 1901, p.72.
(2) Proceedings, Sixth Annual Convention, American Labor Union, 1903, p.78.

place of other labor organizations in the shoe factories in the West when on strike, and

Whereas, the so-called Union stamp of said organization is granted to manufacturers without any change in wages, hours or conditions of employment, etc. ***

Resolved, that the members of the American Labor Union be absolved from demanding said stamp on boots and shoes." (1)

Boycott -

The use of the universal label and the refusal to demand the union stamp of other organizations, suggest the boycott as a formidable weapon. The American Labor Union grants to the general executive board power "to declare any article, individual, firm, company, corporation, trust, railway, or other person, institution or thing, fair or unfair to organized labor; and all national, international or local unions or individual members of the American Labor Union shall absolutely respect and comply with these declarations." (2)

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(1) Proceedings, Sixth Annual Convention American Labor Union, 1903, p.69.

(2) Constitution, A.L.U., 1903, Art. IV., Sec. 15.
For examples of boycotts declared by the Annual Convention- Whereas Leo. J. Lindel has assumed a determined and well-defined policy of aggression towards organized labor and the Mattress Makers' Union, No. 205 of the Western Labor Union *****
Resolved, by the Fifth Annual Convention of the Western La-

A typical form published in the official journals of the federation and affiliated unions in order to acquaint the membership with an unfair firm is as follows:

"Unfair Shoe Factories.

Members of the American Labor Union are requested to take notice that the following shops are unfair to our brothers of St. Louis Boot and Shoe Workers. Union men should avoid their goods when making purchases:

(Then follows a list of the firms).

All these firms have either locked out their employes or coerced them into joining the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

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bor Union that we hereby declare the products of the factories of Geo. J. Kindel unfair until such times as he is willing to pay fair wages for a fair day's work and employs men instead of children to make mattresses.

Denver, Col. June 8, 1903.

"To the Sixth Annual Convention of the American Labor Union:

We, your committee appointed to confer with the Unions Candy Company regarding a settlement between them and the Confectioners' Union, report that all negotiations have been declared off by the Union's Candy Company." A general boycott followed in consequence of this action.

Proceedings, Fifth Annual Convention American Labor Union, 1902, pp. 54-55.

Ibid., Sixth Annual Convention, 1903, pp. 99-100.

These names are furnished by the joint executive board, United Shoe Workers' Union, St. Louis, affiliated with the American Labor Union.

A. J. Lawrence,

Secretary."(1)

In the effort to make a boycott successful, various methods are resorted to. One plan is to send warning letters to those persons or firms who are in the habit of dealing with that employer on whom the boycott has been placed. The following letter sent to brewery proprietors on request of the Horse-shoers' International Union is typical, and illustrates the point in question:

Butte, Montana,

Sept. 1, 1899.

Gentlemen: The Western Labor Union *** does hereby most respectfully request that you do not patronize Fitzel's horseshoe shop until it settles with the Horseshoers' Union. You are furthermore most respectfully requested and admonished to have your horses shod in shops that can place the union label on the shoes they place on your horses ***** We hope that your firm will not be found in the unfavorable list. If it is found unfriendly, we can assure you that all the means in our power will be used to induce labor and

(1) American Labor Union Jour., Jan. 28, 1904.

its friends to patronize those only who recognize the just demands of organized labor ****

(Signed) Dan McDonald, Pres.

M. J. Geiger, Sec.

Western Labor Union."(1)

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(1) Proceedings, Third Annual Convention, Western Labor Union, 1900, pp. 49-50. Aside from this activity, a special effort is made by the federation to increase the business of those firms who are known to favor organized labor. A list like this is often published in the official journal -

"Fair Stores at Helena, Montana -
The Helena merchants and business men whose names appear on this list do not belong to any organization opposed to labor unions.

(Then follows a list of one hundred names including two under the head of Wholesale liquors and Cigars; six under the head of Clothing stores; three, Jewelry and Clothing; one, Dairyman; six, Hotels; ten, Restaurants; eleven, Groceries, Grain and Feed, one, Hardware; three, Shoe Stores; one, Crockery; one, Ladies' Furnishings; two, Dry Goods; one, Wholesale Butchers; one, Soap Factory; one, Wall Paper; fourteen, Cigar Stores; six, Meat Markets; one, Laundry; two, Drug Stores; nineteen, Barber Shops; one, Books and Stationery; one, Furniture; one Bakery; two Photographer; two, Undertakers; one, Tailor and Draper; one Dealer in Wood." See

American Labor Union Journal, July 5, 1904.

Strikes -

In general the American Labor Union may be said to oppose strikes, but it does not hesitate to use the whole strength of the federation in support of any one part when over conditions warrant such action. Writing under date of February 13, 1904, President McDonald declared, "The strike is not a cure for anything. There are no thoughtful workmen who believe that it is.

The strike only suggests that there is something wrong, and indicates that a real substantial remedy is required. There is but one way to get rid of strikes and successfully destroy labor organizations, and that is to eliminate their necessity. So long as wage-earners can demand better terms by bargaining collectively with the employers, so long will the labor union continue."(1) A strike under the direction of the American Labor Union is defined as a "peaceful cessation of labor or refusal to work upon the part of a member or members of a national, international or local union *** on account of the refusal of the em-

(1) American Labor Union Journal, Feb. 1, 1904. - "An injury to one is the injury of all" has been accepted as an underlying principle of the American Labor Union. As late as November, 1903, it was claimed that every strike of the federation had been successful without requiring a general strike. Labor Union Journal, Nov. 19, 1903.

prayer of employers *** to redress a grievance either of the American Labor Union as a whole, or as a part thereof."(1)

Previous to 1904 when the new constitution providing for a central defense fund went into operation, aid to locals and nationals on strikes was distributed through the executive board by means of donations and special assessments.(2) An example of this activity prior to the establishment of the present constitution is as follows:

"To all Local Unions and Members of the American Labor Union, Greeting:

An Injury to one is the Concern of All.

It is this grand principle of human brotherhood that causes the General Executive Board to call upon every member of the American Labor Union for an assessment of 50 cents for the relief of the Western Federation of Miners, etc.

If the treasury of your union will permit it, the union should send the full amount of assessment at once,

(1) Constitution, 1903, Art. IV., Sec. 12.
(2) " 1902, Art. VI., Sec. 3.
(3) American Labor Union Journal, Dec. 17, 1903.

As an example of activity in strikes independent of contributions from the central treasury we may cite the case of a theatrical tour, under the auspices of the American Labor Union and the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, through the principal cities of Montana, by means of which five thousand dollars were raised and contributed in support of the Western Federation of Miners in its strike of 1903-04. American Labor Union Jour. April 14, 1904.

and then reimburse the treasury by collections from the members.

(Signed by Officers of the A.L.U.) (3) page 16.

Legislative activity -

As a part of the general movement in favor of labor legislation, the American Labor Union has urged the introduction of a shorter work day and especially the passage of an eight-hour law through the various state legislatures.

In the convention of 1900, resolutions were adopted endorsing the efforts made at Victor, Colo. to declare six days a week's work, and to establish the six o'clock closing hour in the Cripple Creek region, etc. (1) In 1901, the delegates to the Fourth Annual convention declared their hearty approval of any movement to shorten hours of work and pledged the support of the national federation to all unions affiliated with the Western Labor Union. (2) Finally, at the convention of 1901, the president reported that through the efforts of the Western Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners and other

(1) Proceedings Third Annual Convention Western Labor Union, 1900, pp. 79-80.
(2) Proceedings Fourth Annual Convention Western Labor Union, 1901, p.75.

labor organizations, the Montana Legislature has passed an eight-hour law to apply to the miners, and mill-and smelter-men of the state.(1)

Owing to the constant and rapid increase of Japanese immigration during the years immediately preceding 1901, active interest was taken by the American Labor Union in the question of Japanese labor. From July 1, 1898 to November 30, 1899, a period of seventeen months, 3,661 Japanese were imported into the state of Washington, and from December, 1899 to November, 1900, the number had reached 9,770.(2) Accordingly, the following action was taken at the fourth annual convention of 1901, "Resolved, By the Western Labor Union in regular session in the city of Denver, May 29th, 1901, that we demand of the Congress of the United States the reenactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act in such form as will make it apply to Japanese and other Asiatics generally.(3)

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(1) Proceedings Fourth Annual Convention Western Labor Union, 1901, p.16.
(2) Ibid., pp. 17 - 18.
(3) Proceedings Fourth Annual Convention Western Labor Union, 1901, p.73.

Political Activity -

Independent participation in national, state, and municipal elections seems to have been a prominent aim of the federation from the very beginning. At the convention of 1900, for example, the representatives agreed that the only way to accomplish a permanent improvement in labor conditions is for the working man to vote for candidates and measures favorable to definite reforms; and that education on public questions in consequence is needed for the more intelligent use of the ballot. Acting upon this opinion the convention decided to advocate the discussion of political questions in union meetings, and to urge participation in public elections.(1) (All unions affiliated with the Western Labor Union.) In line with this policy the following activity was decided upon at the following convention, 1901.

"It shall be the duty of all local unions of the Western Labor Union to look up the records of all nominees for public offices, national, state, or municipal, and give their full support to those who are working in our behalf, unless the unions have decided to put forth an entire labor ticket."(2) A further step was taken at the fifth annual con-

(1) Proceedings, Third Annual Convention W.L.U., 1900 p.
(2) Constitution A.L.U., 1901, p.5.

vention of 1902, when a reported by the Committee on Preamble Declaration of Principles and Constitution, including a political platform as the chief feature, was adopted by a vote of 56 to 13. (1)

This declaration of principles ran, "Whereas, The time has come for undivided, independent working-class political action, therefore, be it.

Resolved, That the representatives of the American Labor Union do hereby declare in favor of International Socialism and adopt the platform of the Socialist party of America in its entirety, as the political platform and program of said organization.

Resolved, That we earnestly appeal to all members of the American Labor Union, and to the working class in general to be governed by the provisions of this resolution."

To illustrate the extent to which the American Labor Union advocated the doctrines of socialism in the succeeding elections we may mention as a typical example an article appearing in the official journal with the ominous head-lines,- Capitalism is the Curse of the Human Race".

(1) Proceedings Fifth Annual Convention American Labor Union, 1902, pp. 57-61.

printed in large type the full width of the page.[1] In another column we read, "The Socialist Party is the only labor party.

Its platform the only labor platform,- its ticket the only labor ticket.

1. It is endorsed by the unions.

American Labor Unions, Western Federation of Miners, United Association of Hotel and Restaurant Employes, National Union of United Brewery Workmen, Electrical Workers, Erie, Pa., Trades Assembly, Leadville, Colo., Central Trades Assembly, Omaha, Neb., District Council, No. 15, International Association of Machinists, etc."[2]

(1) Prior to 1902, there was no official journal published by the federation. Instead, a paper under private management was selected by the annual convention as the official organ for the ensuing year. The Convention of 1901, for instance, selected the Suite Reveille. In the reports of the president and secretary-treasury to the fifth annual convention, the suggestion came for a paper to be published under the exclusive control of the American Labor Union, and in October, 1902, the American Labor Union Journal was established by referendum vote as the official organ of the federation. - See Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention, 1901, p. 66 and the American Labor Union Journal, September 3, 1903.

(2) American Labor Union Journal, October 30, 1902.

Finally, the present attitude of the American Labor Union on political action is well summed up in a reply to an inquiry from Vancouver, B.C., made by the editor of the official journal in January, 1904. "The American Labor Union in its conventions, where one man, one vote, is the rule, has twice gone on record in favor of united class conscious political action, along the lines of the socialist platform, as the only remedy for industrial ills. ...But this action was entirely educational in character, and no man forfeits his membership by a refusal to comply."(1)

(1) American Labor Union Journal, January 7, 1904.

## Chapter IV.

### HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF NATIONAL TRADE COUNCILS.

In the United States alliances of related trades or allied trade councils have developed at a later period than general alliances. The latter type dates from the National Labor Union of 1866, while the first national federation of related trades was formed as recently as 1897. Besides the International Building Trades' Council,(1) formed in 1897, there are at present, the Metal Trades' Federation, whose constitution was adopted in 1903, and the Structural Building Trades' Alliance, which held its first convention in 1904. In addition to the building trades and the metal trades'councils, there are printing trades' councils in various cities, but these organizations have no national federation.(2)

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(1) Prior to the convention of 1904, the federation was known as The National Building Trades' Council.

(2) Closely related to the general type of national trade councils, however, is the Joint Conference Board, established by the different National Unions in the printing trades. This board is composed of four representatives from the International Typographical Union, one representative from the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, one representative from the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, one representative from the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, and one representative from the International Photo-Engravers' Union. The officers of the joint board are a president, a vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, and such other officers as the board may determine, so long as no two execu-

(over)

As early as 1881 the general advantages of a closer alliance were foreseen and a plan was proposed before the first annual convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions to form allied trade federations. The idea it seems had first received the unanimous approval of the "Representative Assembly of Trades and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast." In addition to separate local and national trade unions, it was planned to amalgamate labor organizations under such heads as the iron trade, the building trade, the printing trade, etc., each amalgamated union to send delegates to a National Council of Federated Trades whose duties were to correspond in the larger field to those of the more specialized federations.

The next suggestion appears in the president's report to the American Federation of Labor Convention of 1888.(1) By classifying the various industries according to the divisions of those industries, as for example, the iron, steel and metal industry, better results were anticipated. If this plan had been carried out, the various industries in the American Federation might have held conventions composed of delegates from all the trade unions in their respective industries. Each convention, as the

(1) American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1888, p.18.

railroad employe, or the building trade convention, might have legislated in the interest of its particular branches and these industrial divisions might have comprised the American Federation of Labor by sending representatives to the annual convention of that organization. The plan also provided that these divisions possess the administrative power in the general federation by electing one representative from each industry to membership in the executive council.(1)

A resolution was adopted at this same convention, 1898, which referred the suggestion on industrial divisions to the incoming executive board whose duty it became to prepare a plan for allied trade sections.(2) Conditions were not ripe apparently for this step, and no further action was taken at that time. In the next few years, however, trade unionists in the building trades, feeling the presence of strong common interest, formed building trade sections, or building trade councils in various cities. In some places these councils were a part of the central labor union and worked in harmony with the local federation. In other

(1) This plan if carried out would have secured the complete autonomy of each trade and industrial division, and would have removed one of the chief objections to the present structure of the American Federation, namely, the non-representative character of the executive council.
(2) American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1898, p.45.

places the city federation made no provision for allied trade sections, or else the trade councils preferred to remain independent. Where the central labor union and the trade council were not connected in any way, discord often arose over the respective jurisdiction claims of the two factions.

As the number and importance of councils grew, a parallel development took place in the building industry itself. With the growth in the number of large contractors who no longer confined themselves to a single locality but extended their activities over the United States came a change in the character of the work. As long as building operations were carried on by home contractors, local building trade councils answered the purpose. But many men in the building industry no longer depended exclusively on their home city for a livelihood and found it necessary to travel from place to place. Likewise men working in different cities at the same time were often employed by the same large contractor or firm. To meet these new conditions a national affiliation of local trade councils was contemplated.

International Building Trades' Council -

The Building Trades' Council (1) of St. Louis had been successful in preventing strikes among its members and in promoting a more friendly feeling between the employer and the employed. In the early part of 1897, the St. Louis Council, through its secretary, Mr. H. W. Steinhiss, contemplated extending the usefulness of federation in the building trades by forming a national council to be composed of the various local trade councils. The Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Union was the first to declare in favor of the new movement and elected two delegates to represent the union when the convention should be called. Owing to unfavorable industrial conditions, however, the matter of federation was postponed until October 20, 1897, when a call was issued for a convention of the various trade councils to be held in St. Louis, December 20, 1897. Representation to the convention was based on the following: each building trades council to be entitled to one delegate for each trade represented in the council, and to

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tive officers are from one organization. The most recent meeting of the board was held January 13 and 14, 1905, in Indianapolis, most of the session having been consumed in settling appeals of local unions. -See The International Bookbinder - March, 1905.

(1) The facts to which no references are given have been furnished by the General Secretary of the International Council.

one vote for each affiliated trade, regardless of the number of its delegates attending the convention.(1) On the date named the convention met and formed the National Building Trades' Council of America with headquarters at St. Louis.

There were twenty-eight delegates present at the first convention representing one international union, and the following building trades' councils: Chicago, Ill., St. Louis, Mo., Washington, D.C., Pittsburg, Pa., Milwaukee, Wis., Toledo, O., Kansas City, Mo., and East St. Louis Ill. Other councils sent letters to the convention promising future affiliation. The first international trade union admitted was The Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America receiving its charter from the National Building Trades' Council, February 1, 1898.(2)

The secretary at the second annual convention, 1899, reported a membership of 14 organizations; and at the third annual convention a membership of three national organiza-

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(1)Weekly Compendium, Building Trades' Council of St. Louis and Vicinity, Aug. 29, 1897.

(2) The call sent out by the St. Louis Trades' Council made no provision for international bodies, consequently the Sheet Metal Workers, who had already elected delegates did not forward any credentials, and did not affiliate until October 2, 1900. The Painters and Decorators, however, were represented at the first convention by its former president who was seated as a regular delegate by vote of the convention.

tions,- the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, National Association Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, National Brotherhood Electrical Workers of America,- seventeen building trades' councils, and six local unions.(1) Finally, at the sixth annual convention of 1903 there was reported a membership of seven national and international unions, seventy-six building trades' councils and nineteen local unions, an increase of fifty-four organizations during the current year.(2) The secretary-treasurer declared at this convention: "the affiliation with the National Building Trades' Council of International Unions is progressing but slowly and this is attributed partly to an aversion of some of their general officers to the N.B.T.C., some from selfish motive, others perhaps in the honest belief that the interests of all labor would better be subserved by all being under the direct and only jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor.(3) The main reason,

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(1) Report of Proceedings, 3rd Annual Convention National Building Trades' Council, 1900, pp. 11-12.
(2) Ibid., 6th Annual Convention, 1903, pp. 10-11.
(3) The president of the American Federation in his annual report of 1900 declared: The error into which the Building Trades' Council has fallen is that they have failed to ally themselves with the American Federation of Labor, and having formed themselves on a national basis, not only hold themselves aloof, but in many instances have proven antagonistic to the very purposes of the American Federation of Labor. "Report of Proceedings, 1900, p.9.

however, seems to be the differences existing between kindred trades under separate heads, one attempting to force the other under its jurisdiction and hence unwilling to subordinate power to define their jurisdiction of work to the arbitration and the legislation of the N.F.T.C. under its system of "jurisdiction claims" (1) At the present time, January, 1905, the International Building Trades' council has an affiliation of nine national and international unions, twenty-eight building trades' councils and five local unions. (2)

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The Metal Trades' Federation of America -

During 1900 several meetings of representatives of the various metal trades were held for the purpose of

(2) The international unions are: Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers; American Brotherhood of Cement Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers; International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union; International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers; National Association of Heat, Frost and General Insulators and Asbestos Workers; Stone Masons' International Union; International Laborers' Union. The chief local councils are those of Denver, Milwaukee and St. Louis, while the councils of many other large cities are unaffiliated at the present time. - See The Labor Compendium, January, 1905, pp. 10-11.

(1) Report of Proceedings, Sixth Annual Convention, National Building Trades' Council, 1903, p. 12.

In order to counteract the independent influence of the International Building Trade Council already referred to, the American Federation of Labor at the convention of 1900, decided "to provide for the formation of a permanent organization to be known as a General Section of the Building Trades". Disputes and grievances arising between national and local unions of the building trades should be referred to this organization for settlement.(1) In 1902, the following resolution was adopted: "We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and subdivided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation and to the organization of district and national trade councils to which shall be referred questions in dispute, and which shall be adjusted within allied crafts' lines.(2)

Besides, the American Federation of Labor regarded with disfavor the International Building Trades Council because it seemed a dual organization and antagonistic to the more general federation. The International Council had expressed a desire from time to time to establish such relations with the American Federation as existed in many

(1) American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1900, p.41.
(2) Ibid., 1902, p.143

places between Central labor unions and local trade councils. An arrangement of this kind would have placed the two organizations on an equality where friendly intercourse could have been maintained through a conference of representatives.[1] The American Federation has been unwilling to accept such an arrangement and has continued its efforts to form building trades and other industrial sections.

In answer to these attempts on the part of the American Federation, the fifth Annual Convention of the International Building Trades' Council declared "that in the future, the International Building Trades' Council and local councils be more aggressive and resist to their utmost the encroachments being made by the American Federation of Labor. We again place ourselves on record as being opposed to "building trades' sections" connected with central labor unions, for in forming the said sections building trades men are but subject to the whims and wishes of miscellaneous trades."[2]

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(1) This plan is similar to the one on which the British Trades Union Congresses are based.

(2) Proceedings 5th Convention, 1902, p. 100.

forming a national federation. In December a temporary organization with James Cramer of the International Association of Machinists, as president, and J. H. Thomas of the Pattern Makers' League, as secretary, was effected, and the following resolution adopted: "Whereas, at a meeting of the representatives of the Machinists, Iron Molders, Pattern Makers, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers, Blacksmiths, Boiler Makers, Ship Builders, Allied Metal Mechanics, Core Makers, and Electrical Workers in attendance upon the Twentieth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., there developed a unanimous sentiment in favor of the formation of a Metal Trades' Federation, therefore be it-

Resolved that the above organizations be requested to send two representatives, fully instructed how to perfect and render practicable said Metal Trades' Federation, to a convention to be held in St. Louis at such time in July, 1901, as may be mutually agreed upon."[1] The following year several further conferences were held with a view to permanent organization[2] and in January, 1903 a constitution and by-laws governing the Metal Trades' Federation

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(1) Report of Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 109.
(2) Ibid., 1901, p.18.

of North America were adopted. The objects of the association were stated to be, "to foster a feeling of friendship between the organizations engaged in the metal trade industry and its kindred branches, to discuss ways and means for bettering the condition and advancing the interest of the organizations connected with this body, to stimulate the individual membership of the different organizations to an active interest in each other; to promote the settlement of disputes by arbitration, and thereby discouraging strikes."(1)

In the early part of 1903, active work on the part of organizers resulted in numerous additions to the membership, so that in June 1903, there were eight national unions, and forty-eight metal trades' councils or metal trades' sections in as many cities.(2)

In his report to the membership for the year ending July 1, 1904, the President of the International Association of Machinists said: "The Metal Trade Federation of North America maintains an office and a secretary at Washington, D.C. Several national metal trades' organizations

(1) Metal Trades' Federation, 1903, Constitution, Art. I., Sec. 2.
(2) Circular issued from International Headquarters, Washington, D.C., and signed by James O'Connell, Pres. and E. J. Lynch, Secretary-treasurer.

as yet have not seen their way clear to affiliate with the Metal Trades' Federation of North America. I regret this exceedingly, for I have personally devoted a great amount of my time trying to bring about a closer affiliation between the national metal trades' organizations. The national organizations not affiliated are the Iron Molders' Union, Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders, and the Pattern Makers' League."(1)

Structural Building Trades' Alliance -

On August 26, 1903, a conference of structural building trades representatives was held in Indianapolis, Ind., at the headquarters of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. It was decided at this conference to establish an international alliance, and as a preliminary step, to issue a call to structural building trades for a general convention in Indianapolis, October 8, 1903. The call was signed by officers of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers; Bricklayers and Masons' International Union; International Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers; Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Inter-

(1) Machinist Monthly Journal, Sept. , 1904, p.789.

national Union; Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; and Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association.

The conference held a three-days session October 8, 9, and 10, during which a tentative constitution was drafted and the following resolution adopted: "Whereas, ever since the formal conference of the Structural Building Trade, held in this city (Indianapolis) Aug. 26, 1903, representatives of organized labor outside of the building trades have claimed and openly expressed their opinion that this body was being formed in opposition and antagonistic to the American Federation of Labor, and the National Building Trades' Council.

Resolved that this Convention go on record and hereby give an expression of their friendship toward the American Federation of Labor and the National Building Trades' Council, and will give any assistance we possibly can to either body," etc. (1) The constitution and by-laws were submitted to the referendum vote of the different organizations, all of whom voted to affiliate with the exception of the Bricklayers and Masons' Union and the Electrical Workers.

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(1) The Carpenter, November, 1903, p.3.

In August, 1904, the first annual convention of the Structural Building Trades' Alliance assembled in Indianapolis and elected the following officers: President, Frank Buchanan, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Secretary-treasurer, William J. Spencer, United Association of Plumbers, etc., 1st vice-president, James Kirby, United Brotherhood of Carpenters etc., 2nd vice-president, A. G. Cainbridge, Painters and Paperhangers, 3rd vice-president, Herman Lilien, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, 4th vice-president, J. G. Hannahan, Hoisting Engineers.(1)

The declaration of principles included the following objects:- to establish local and international boards of arbitration; to give international sympathetic support where local boards fail in their efforts to adjust difficulties; to uphold autonomy; to maintain agreements; to avoid and discourage strikes if possible; to oppose the formation of dual and rival bodies; to encourage and maintain friendly relations with existing central organizations.(2)

In March, 1905, there are six international organizations affiliated with the alliance, and four others have been declared eligible to membership owing to the character

(1) Indianapolis News, Aug. 12, 1904.
(2) Constitution of Structural Building Trades' Alliance, 1904, p.1.

of their trades, namely - the Bricklayers and Masons, Operative Plasterers, Electrical Workers, and Sheet Metal Workers. (1)

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Note. - Aside from the foregoing federations of related trades, the railway brotherhoods have formed federations from time to time, but these have been for the most part short-lived.

On June 6, 1889, the general officers of three orders of railway employes met at Chicago and formed a national federation under the name of "The Supreme Council of the United Orders of Railway Employes," including the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakesmen, and the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association. (1)

The following year the Supreme Council, including the Locomotive Firemen, the Railroad Brakemen, the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association and the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, met after a successful season in Chicago for the purpose of discussing plans for the future. (2)- At the next session of 1891, however, the Brotherhood of Railroad Firemen was expelled from the Supreme Council,(3), and on June 20, 1892, at the fourth and last annual meeting, the federation was disbanded.(4).

A meeting of representatives from the various railroad brotherhoods held at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 4, 1893, resulted in the adoption of a plan of federation known as the Cedar Rapids Plan. In brief, the Articles of federation provided for general grievance committees representing the different brotherhoods, to whom should be submitted for adjustment questions in dispute. Should a strike be inaugurated, the chief executive of the union immediately concerned was the recognized leader, and had power to declare the strike off with the consent of the general federated committee together with the

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(1) The Carpenter, March, 1905, pp.5-6.
(1) Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, July, 1889, p.627.
(2) Ibid., August, 1890, p.708.
(3) Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, Aug., 1891., p.720
(4) Ibid., August, 1892, p.733.

approval of the individual brotherhood excecutives. (1)

Subsequent attempts at a closer alliance among the railroad brotherhoods have met with little permanent success. The Federation of American Railway Employes formed April, 1898, gave promise of an important career, but failed on account of internal dissensions. On February 1, 1900, Grand Master Wargent announced: "It becomes my duty to advise that the Federation of American Railway Employes as established April 1, 1898, has ceased to exist on account of the withdrawal of the Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and Order of Railroad Telegraphers." - See Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, June, 1893, p.511. Also, Industrial Commission Report, 1901, Vol. XVII, pp. 852-857.

Composition of National Trade Councils -

The primary unit in the International Building Trades' Council is the local trades' council, in the Metal Trades' Federation, and the Structural Building Trades' Alliance, the national trade union. The International Building Trades Council declares in the preamble to its constitution that the federation stands for organization along trade lines, regards local building trades' councils as the "most fruitful means presented to improve the condition of the men engaged in the building industry."(1) It recognizes national trade unions in its structure, however, as the following section from the constitution shows: "This organization *** shall be composed of Building Trades' Councils, National Building Trades' Unions and Local Unions of Building Trades who have no national organization."(2)

Similarly, the Metal Trades' Federation has jurisdiction wherever metal trades are organized," and includes those unions whose members are connected with each other through the metal industry.(3) Metal Trades' Sections or Councils may be formed

(1) Constitution National Building Trades' Council, 1903, Preamble.
(2) Constitution, National Building Trades' Council, Art. I., Sec. 1.
(3) Constitution, Metal Trades' Federation, 1908, Art.II., Sec. 1.

ed by neighboring locals, which are empowered to make independent laws so long as they accord with the general constitution of the national federation.(1)

The Structural Building Trades' Alliance though similar in some respects to the International Building Trades' Council presents a strong contrast in general structure. It is "composed only of National and International Unions of Structural Building Tradesmen," although one of the objects is stated to be the formation of "local Alliances of Building Tradesmen" which have no representation in the annual meeting of the Alliance.(2)

Two distinct types of labor organization are thus provided for; and as the national trade union does not fall within the scope of the present inquiry, there remains to be considered the local trade council or section.(3)

The Local Trades' Council -

Qualifications for membership vary in the different allied trades' councils. The usual provision is that delegates must be chosen from bona fide trade organizations

(1) Metal Trades Federation Constitution, 1903, Art. XIII.
(2) Structural Building Trades' Alliance, Const., 1904, Art. I., Sec. 1., Art. II., Sec. 1.
(3) The distinction between trade councils and trade sections is important. The building trade council is independent usually of any other local body and is affiliated directly with the National Building Trades' Council or the

whose members are engaged in the building trades. These trade organizations however must satisfy certain requirements. For instance, the General Constitution for Local Building Trades' Councils affiliated with the International Council provides that any union desiring affiliation with a trade council must present an application in this form: "To the Officers and Members of the Building Trades' Council: The above named organization, having thoroughly considered your objects and laws respectfully, petition for affiliation with your honorable body. Nothing in our Constitution, By-Laws or working rules conflicts with those of your council, and if admitted we will cheerfully comply with and abide by your laws and regulations. Our initiation fee is $ *** We have a total membership of ***** We work *** hours a day and our wage is *** cents per hour, *** cents per hour for overtime and night work, and*** cents per hour for Sundays and holidays. (No member will be allowed to work on Labor Day - the first Monday in September.

(Signed) ****** President
****** Secretary.

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American Federation of Labor. A building trades' section or a metal trades' section is formed from trades in a General Labor Union and has only an indirect connection with the American Federation of Labor.

Accompanying the application which is at once submitted to the executive board is a definite statement of the work claimed by the union, together with a copy of its trade rules. If the executive board finds that the union is a bona fide building trade and does not conflict with the jurisdiction or trade rules of any other member of the council, it reports favorably on the application. A majority vote of all delegates at a meeting of the Council decides the question of admission.

The local councils of allied trade federations have various systems of representation. The general constitution for local building trades' councils affiliated with the International Building Trades' Council does not lay down specific rules governing the number of delegates to the local council. When a vote is taken on any proposition however, each delegate present is entitled to cast his ballot as an individual, except in cases where a "trade" vote is necessary when each trade votes as a unit.[1] Further more various systems of representation prevail among the different building trades' councils which are unaffiliated

(1) If the trade delegation is divided the members are polled and their number for and against is counted as a fraction of one vote for and against the question before the Council. - Constitution for Local Building Trades' Councils affiliated with the National Building Trades' Council of America, 1902, Art. II., Secs. 1 and 3.

with the International Building Trades' Council. The Chicago Building Trades' Council, formed in 1890 and incorporated under the laws of Illinois in 1892, provided for representation of the affiliated unions on the following basis: for each union of one hundred members or less, five delegates, for each additional one hundred up to and including five hundred members an additional delegate; for every two hundred and fifty over five hundred members up to and including one thousand, another delegate, etc., but no union had the right to send to the council more than twenty delegates.(1) Another system favored by some councils does not take into account the number of members in the unions, and fixes an arbitrary basis for all. The Building Trades' Council of Detroit and Vicinity and the Building Trades' Council of Cleveland and Vicinity illustrates this system of representation. The Constitution of the former provides for three delegates from each Union, while the constitution of the latter declares "This organization shall consist of three delegates from all trade organizations connected with the erection, finishing or embellish-

(1) Chicago Building Trades' Conflict of 1900. Quarterly Journal of Economics, 1900, p.349.

ment of buildings."(1)

Delegates to Building Trade Councils are usually elected for a term of six months, those to Metal Trade Councils for one year.(2)

The elective officers of local trade councils are a president, vice-president, corresponding or recording secretary, financial secretary, treasurer, sergeant-at-arms, a board of at least three trustees, the number is five in local metal trades councils. In addition to these officers, the general constitution for local building trades

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(1) Constitution Building Trades' Council of Detroit and Vicinity, Art. VII., Sec. 4.

Constitution Building Trades' Council of Cleveland and Vicinity, 1900, Art. I., Sec. 1. According to the agreement among the five international unions in the printing trades. Allied printing trades' councils are composed of three delegates from each local union chartered by one of the parties to the agreement. A further provision entitles each delegate at a council meeting, who ordinarily has but one vote, to cast additional votes, based on membership of the local unions, whenever a roll call is demanded on the question of raising revenue or electing officers. For fifty members of the local represented one vote, for each additional fifty members or major fraction thereof, up to three hundred, one vote, for the next two hundred or major fraction thereof, one vote, etc. - See The International Book Binder, March, 1905.

(2) Metal Trades' Federation, Const. 1903, Art. IV., Sec.1 Delegates are as a rule required to pledge themselves somewhat as follows: I - do hereby solemnly promise on my honor as a man that I am not now nor shall I be while connected with this Metal Trades' Federation of North America a member or subscriber to any organization hostile to the labor movement ***** and I do further promise to abide by the laws and constitution of this organization, and I will

councils provides for an executive board of five members, an organization committee of three members, and a law a legislative committee of at least three members.(1) Officers entering upon their duties are required to take an obligation which in some cases is very strong as the following typical form indicates: "I - do solemnly and sincerely pledge my sacred word of honor as a man, to faithfully perform the duties of the office to which I am elected, so far as lies in my power, until my successor is elected and installed, and to do all I can to promote the interest of all organizations, affiliated with this council."(2)

Duties of Officers and Committees -

The most important single official is the president, who presides over all meetings except when questions relating to his own trade are considered. He exercises general

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at all times abide by the decision of the legal majority and I furthermore promise that at all times I will do whatever I can to promote the interests of the Metal Trades' Federation of North America. Constitution, Art. XXVII., Sec. 1. Similar obligations appear in some building trades' council constitutions.

(1) General Constitution for Local Building Trade Councils affiliated with the National Building Trades' Councils, 1902, Art. III., Sec. 1.

(2) Constitution and By-Laws of the Building Trades' Council of Memphis and Vicinity, 1900.

supervision over the officers and committees, and is responsible for the proper observance of the Constitution and Laws.(1)

The executive board usually considers grievances of the trades represented, and in disputes between employer and employe, endeavors to settle the differences without resort to a strike. It is sometimes given power to call special meetings, and in the intervals between regular meetings to act in the name of the council.(2) In some councils a special committee on grievances is appointed, which investigates any case presented to it and when requested to do so tries to adjust the trouble.(3)

Other standing committees that figure largely in the activities of trade councils are, the committee on organization, whose duty it is to assist in the formation of new

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(1) The other single officials perform the duties usually assigned to a Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, or Sergeant-at-arms.

(2) The local board of governors in the Structural Building Trades' Alliance is formed from members of national and International Unions affiliated with the Alliance who are appointed by the general board of governors to act as its representative in the separate localities. This differentiates the board of governors in the Trades Alliance from the executive board of building trades' councils, which is an elective body selected by majority vote of the membership attending an election.

(2) Constitution of the Building Trades Council of Cleveland, O., 1900, Art. VII., Sec. 3.
Const. Structural Building Trades Alliance, 1904, Art. VIII., Sec. 2.

unions, and the legislative committee which endeavors "to secure the adoption by legislative bodies of such legislation as shall seem best for the interests of the laboring people."(1)

Finally, the board of business agents is in some respects the most important body in the local council. It is composed of representatives(2) from the different trades, who meet several times a week for the purpose of considering questions of general interest to the industry. Some councils delegate large powers to this board, while others restrict its activity to narrow limits. The chief work of this board is the supervision of trade rules and the working card, and the adjustment of trade grievances. If trouble occurs in any shop, or on a job, the business agent of the trade endeavors to adjust the difficulty without delay. Failing in this he presents the grievance to the board of business agents, who in turn submits the whole question to the local trade council for final decision.(3)

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(1) General Constitution for Local Building Trades' Councils, 1902, Art. V., Sec. 10.

(2) These members are usually paid to devote all or a great part of their time to trade matters.

(3) - See for example, Building Material Trades' Council of Chicago and Cook Co. Constitution, 1901, Art. XI., Secs. 1-4. A local federation of related trades not included in either the building, printing or metal trade groupings, is the "Building Material Trades' Council" of Chicago and Cook

Nation Convention -

The conventions of related trade federations are held annually for the purpose of discussing and legislating upon questions that concern the particular group of trades. Two distinct systems of representation are recognized. In the International Building Trades Council, the oldest of the existing types, representation is based primarily on local building trades councils. Each council

is entitled to one delegate for each trade represented, and the national or international unions are given one delegate apiece regardless of the membership.(1) It is thus important for the nationals to have their trade locals affiliated with building trade councils in order to obtain proper representation in the convention.

Prior to the annual convention of 1904, each council was entitled to one vote for each trade in the council, regardless of the number of delegates in the convention. In this year, however, an amendment to the constitution declared "no delegate either from a local union or council, will be entitled to more than one vote. No proxy vote will be allowed except in the case of the general secretary-treasurer who, if not returned as a delegate, shall be allowed one proxy.(2) International unions, and local unions having neither an international organization nor a local trades' council affiliation, are limited to one vote each.(3)

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Co. organized in 1897, Art. II., Sec. 5, declares "No trades engaged in the erection or alteration of buildings shall be eligible to this Council."

(1) Constitution, National Building Trades' Council, 1903, Art. IV., Secs. 1 and 3.
(2) Proceedings, Seventeenth Annual Convention, International Building Trades' Council, in The Labor Compendium for September 25, 1904.
(3) Constitution, N.B.T.C., 1903, Art. IV., Sec. 3.

This system is materially different from that of the Metal Trades' Federation and the Structural Building Trades Alliance. Both of these make the national unions the basis of representation, and in the latter case where no representation is given the local alliances, five delegates with five votes are sent from each national or international organization.(1) Each of these systems, however, differs in some respects from that adopted by the American Federation, which gives a proportional voting strength to the national and international unions, and one vote only to Central Labor Unions regardless of the number of trades represented.

Duties, Powers, and Limitations of the General Convention -

The importance of the annual convention in allied trade federations is perhaps less than in either general federations or industrial unions. It has no power to interfere with trade regulations of local councils unless one council interferes with another council, or one trade with another trade, in which case the federation undertakes to adjust the difficulty. The chief duty of the convention, however, is to

(1) Constitution, Structural Building Trades' Alliance, 1904, Art. III., Sec. 2. On the other hand, the Metal Trades Federation declares Art. IV., Sec. 1., Const. 1904. "A quorum for the transaction of business at the annual or extraordinary session shall be representatives from five National or International unions, and one delegate from

the International Building Trades' Council this board is composed of the president and the six vice-presidents; in the Structural Building Trades' Alliance and the Metal Trades' Federation, the board comprises the executive officer of each affiliated national and international union.(1) (2)

Duties, Powers, and Limitations of the General Executive Board -

The chief duties and powers of this body may be included under (a) jurisdiction disputes between national and international unions, (b) conciliation and arbitration, and (c) strikes.

Jurisdiction Disputes -

The allied trade council represents an intermediate step between a trade federation like the American Federation of Labor on the one side, and an industrial union like the United Brewery Workers on the other. In the one case.

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(1) Previous to the Convention of 1904, the secretary-treasurer was perhaps the most important member of the general executive board.

(2) In the Structural Building Trades Alliance this board is known as the board of governors, and in the Metal Trades Federation as the executive committee.

supervise the general working of the subordinate branches, to suggest improvements, and to determine the policy of the federations on industrial questions. For example, at the sixth Annual Convention of the National Building Trades' Council, the following resolution was adopted: "Whereas experience has shown that trade autonomy is best suited to advance the cause of organized labor and any departure from this course is likely to lead to ruin and disaster, as was clearly shown in the Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, and other organizations that favored the industrial idea of organization, therefore, be it Resolved, By the National Building Trades' Council, that it hereby declares itself in favor of and committed to strict trade autonomy and recognizes *** the rights of any or each trade to their own separate and distinct organization without interference or hindrance from any other organization."

Owing to the ~~independent~~ voluntary character of the ~~federation~~ constitutional union, very little power may be exercised over ~~them~~; and what authority is granted to ~~the federation~~ it is usually delegated to the general executive board in whom resides the more important judicial and administrative powers. In

each affiliated council."

(1) National Building Trades' Council, Constitution, 1903, Art. X., Sec. 1.

little power comparatively speaking is in the hands of the executive board, while in the other strong authority is centralized in the national officials. The problem in the structure of allied trades has been to grant sufficient power to this board for the settlement of jurisdiction disputes, and at the same time to maintain the complete autonomy of the constituent unions.

The building trades have been heavy sufferers from trade disputes, and to them we turn for the best illustrations of this activity. The International Building Trades' Council has adopted the plan of jurisdiction statement of work by which each union desiring membership must submit a statement specifying the class of work it claims, and if the claim interferes with the work of any other union a charter is withheld.(1) This law is intended to prevent disputes and relieve the executive board of responsibility for frequent decisions.(2) Again, for the better protection of those trades already affiliated, the following addition was made to the Constitution in 1900. "Whenever a local union of a

(1) National Building Trades' Council, 1903, Art. IV., Sec. 6. - See also Structural Building Trades' Alliance, Constitution, 1904, Art. IV., Sec. 2.

(2) Under this law the Fifth Annual Convention of 1902, excluded the Roadmurers International Union because the jurisdiction claims conflicted with those of other unions. - See also Structural Building Trades' Alliance, Constitution, 1904, Art. IV., Sec. 2.

national organization affiliated with the National Building Trades' Council is affiliated with a local building trades' council, no local union of the same craft shall be admitted by said local building trades' council without the consent of the local union already affiliated."(1) A further development toward centralization as a means to the solution of jurisdiction problems has been shown by the Structural Building Trades' Alliance in constituting a board of governors with competent authority to deal with inter-trade affairs. Final action in trade disputes rests with the general board of governors or with the national alliance if it is in session. When any affiliated union has a grievance, it first refers the matter to the local committee, and if the dispute is not there settled, the union carries the grievance before the national board of governors which "shall decide all questions of trade disputes and jurisdiction."(2)

Arbitration -

The power of the general executive board is largely shown in difficulties arising between employer and employe.

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(1) Constitution N.B.T.C., 1900, Art. XVII., Sec. 3. This law was submitted to the affiliated organizations and adopted by a vote of 121 to 35.

(2) Constitution of the Structural Building Trades' Alliance, Art.IV., Sec. 3; Art. VI., Sec. 2. See also, Constitution, N.B.T.C., 1903, Art. XI., Sec. 1.

strikes are not favored by either of the federations, and all possible efforts are made to settle the trouble without resort to open conflict. The International Building Trades Council requests all local councils to establish conference or arbitration boards with associations of master builders wherever possible; and the general executive board stands ready to act as an arbitration committee in case of strike or lockout when called upon by an affiliated organization.(1) Similarly, the Structural Building Trades' Alliance undertakes to promote conciliation and arbitration by establishing local and international boards of arbitration, discouraging strikes, and keeping all agreements with employers inviolate.(2)

Strikes -

After the ordinary efforts to settle a grievance amicably have failed, the next step is to declare either an individual trade or a general strike. Allied trade councils have little to do with trade strikes since the trade directly concerned inaugurates and conducts the strike on

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(1) Constitution, N.B.T.C., 1903, pp. 30-31. Before the convention of 1904 the general secretary-treasurer as a member of the general executive board in the national B.T.C. was practically the arbiter in most difficulties as he made decisions and submitted them to the other members of the executive board who usually gave their endorsement without a dissenting voice.

(2) Const. Structural B.T.A., 1904, Preamble.

its own responsibility. But when a general or sympathetic strike is called, the councils through their executive boards take a leading part. The Structural Building Trades' Alliance requires affiliated unions to obtain the special approval of the board of governors before entering upon a strike, if the support or sympathy of the various branches are to be given. Furthermore to inaugurate a sympathetic strike in any locality a two-thirds vote of the local board of governors is necessary.(1)

Before a sympathetic strike is declared in the Metal Trades' Federation, a statement of the grievance must be submitted by the local union desiring the support of other unions to the local council. The council failing to reach a settlement refers the statement through the secretary-treasurer to the executive officer of each affiliated union. The executive officer in turn learns whether the members of his particular trade are willing to take part in the strike and votes the majority sentiment of his union in the next meeting of the general executive committee. If a two-third's vote is given by the affiliated bodies in favor of general or a sympathetic strike, a final effort is made to

(1) Structural B. T. A., 1904, Art. IX., Secs. 1-6.

adjust the trouble before the strike is called.(1)

General Executive Board and the Strike Fund -

It is one thing to enter upon a strike and another to command obedience of the various parties to the strike. In organizations like the Knights of Labor and the American Labor Union, whose funds are centralized, considerable power can be exercised by the executive boards over the branches. On the other hand, where there is a lack of central defense funds, much less influence is exerted over the unions. For instance, the allied trade councils are voluntary associations in which the local and national unions maintain separate funds of their own. Notwithstanding this apparent weakness however the councils are often considered the leading factors in sympathetic movements and are largely depended upon to guide the unions to success. The Constitution of 1900, the International Building Trades Council declares:

"The general executive board is authorized in case of a strike or lockout to levy an assessment of a sum not not to exceed 5 cents per week per member, for a period not

(1) Constitution, Metal Trades' Federation, 1904, Art. XI. Sec. 1. Before 1904, unanimous consent of the affiliated unions was necessary to order a general strike.

exceeding ten weeks in any one year.[1] This system did not prove altogether satisfactory for in the report of the general secretary-treasurer to the sixth annual convention we read: "If the laws pertaining to strike benefits were enforced as per letter instead of the spirit in which they were enacted, the N.B.T.C. would now be an organization in memory only. Every union on strike would be entitled to financial aid and the ten weeks assessment authorized in any one year would be 'but a drop in the bucket'".[2] Accordingly, at the convention of 1903 the general secretary-was empowered to keep on hand a separate emergency fund "equivalent to a per capita of five cents per member of all affiliated building trades' councils", and to levy a special assessment of five cents per member whenever the emergency fund falls below this amount.[3] The International Council, however, expects each affiliated union to support its own members as far as possible from the strike fund it may have on hand, from benefits received from the national or international union, and from a system of assessment in-

(1) Constitution, 1900, Art. IX., Sec. 3.
(2) Report of Proceedings, 6th Annual Convention. National Building Trades' Council, 1903, p.219.
(3) Ibid., p. 294. Also Constitution, 1903, Art. IX., Sec. 5.

adjusted whenever a general strike is threatened. In 1901, the strike assessments of the International Council amounted to $7,038.72; in 1902 the strike fund had a balance on hand of $1,179.84, and in 1903, it had grown to $2,785.71.

Power of the General Executive Board to declare strikes off

As the general executive board is the chief authority in the conduct of a general or sympathetic strike, it has also the power to ~~declare~~ authorize a return to work ~~a strike off~~ at any time.

The Metal Trades' Federation gives its executive committee the right by a majority vote to declare a general or sympathetic strike off at any time as far as the Federation is concerned. The individual union may continue the strike, however, on its own responsibility and with its own resources.(1) Likewise, in the Structural Building Trades' Alliance strikes are concurred in by at least two-thirds of the local board of governors prior to their being declared or settled in any locality. In this case the unions interested receive greater consideration as the strikes are declared off upon their recommendation.(2) The secretary-treas-

(1) Constitution, 1903, Metal Trades' Federation, Art. XI., Sec. 2.
(2) Constitution, Structural Building Trades' Alliance, 1904, Art. IX., Sec. 4.

ever of the International Building Trades' Council before the change made in 1904 was in reality the power in the general executive board. The Charleston strike of 1903 well illustrates his activity in the field usually assigned to the national committee.

Trouble had arisen between the building trades' Council of Charleston and the building contractors over conditions of employment. The council had refused to work for certain contractors who were employing members of a Plumbers and Electrical Workers' Union, because this union was not affiliated with the Trades' Council. On October 30, 1903, the secretary-treasurer rendered a decision in the following words: "I, therefore, in the interest of the Building Trades' Council (of Charleston, S.C.), the welfare and the prosperity of the building industry of your city, and in justice and fairness, by authority vested in me by the Constitution of the National Building Trades' Council of America, decide that all strikes now pending against such contractors as, and are hereby, declared off, and that all members who can obtain employment in such shops or on such jobs, resume work at once." (1)

(1) - See Pamphlet, "To Avoid Strikes and Lockout", issued by the National Council, pp. 4-5.

Duties and Powers of the President -

Next in importance to the executive council in allied trade federations is the president whose duties do not differ to any extent from those ordinarily attached to a similar office. He presides at all conventions, exercises general supervision over the federation, and signs all official documents. In the International Building Trades' Council he is the chief organizer, and with the consent of the general executive board issues all charters to affiliated organizations. In the Metal Trades' federation, the president, secretary-treasurer, "with the executive Council and the different national and international officers of affiliated bodies," are the general organizers. (1)

Responsibility for any action taken by a single official or by a committee such as the executive board rests with the general convention, and it is to this assembly composed of representatives from the different organizations that the elective officers must render account. The immediate check to the president or the secretary-treasurer in the exercise of undue power is the executive board.

(1) Constitution, Metal Trades' Federation, 1904, Art.IX., Sec. 1. The president also issues commissions to local organizers through the secretary-treasurer.
(2) - See for example, Const. International Building Trades' Council, 1904, Art. VII., Secs. 1,3.

behind the executive board and exerting a conservative influence over this body, as well as over the single officials, is the general convention which expresses the will of the general membership. Any failure on the part of national officers to satisfy the representatives of the different organizations is likely to result at a succeeding election in a change of personnel.

Revenues -

The revenue for the support of national allied trades' councils are derived mainly from regular monthly assessments on the membership. The International Building Trades' Council levies on the local councils a per capita tax of three-quarters of a cent per month for each member in the unions affiliated.(1) The Structural Building Trades' Alliance imposes a per capita tax of one-quarter of one cent per member per month upon the national and international unions.(2) Finally, the Metal Trades' Federation meets its expenses by a pro rata of twenty-five dollars per month from each of the national organizations in the alliance.

(1) Local unions with no national unions nor local trade council affiliation pay a per capita tax of 5 cents per member per month.

(2) Should at any time the funds of the alliance be insufficient to meet expenses, the board of governors shall instruct the executive boards of affiliated nationals to levy

In addition to these assessments, the International Building Trades' Council receives $10 per capita each year from the national unions, and the Metal Trades' Federation a monthly payment of five dollars from local metal trades' sections to be used exclusively for organizing purposes. Other sources of revenue are charter fees, initiation fees, charges for supplies, etc.

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an assessment sufficient to supply the treasury with the necessary amount.

Chapter V.

## FUNCTIONS OF ALLIED TRADE COUNCILS OR FEDERATIONS.

The first stage in trade union structure as we have seen is the local union. Then follow in succession central labor unions local in character; national trade unions; general federations, national in scope; federations of related trades, (a) allied trade councils, (b) industrial unions. After local and national unions are organized in central labor unions and national federations respectively, the next step is the grouping of trades more or less related in character under one government. The economic basis of these allied trade federations is that they represent men who have to deal with the same employer or set of employers, and who work in the same industry. Having much more in common among themselves than with members of other trade unions, the workers in such industries as the building industry or the brewing industry form alliances of the different trades, in order to use their strength more effectively. (1)

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(1) In England the related trade federation is the dominant type of alliance, acting in the interest of the constituent unions and sending delegates to the trade congresses. These delegates do not yield any of the autonomous powers of their respective federations.

In particular industries different conditions have produced two distinct types of related trade federations,- one represented by the Allied Trade Council, local and national, and the other by the "Industrial Union".

The Allied Trade Council is composed of those trades in which separate national trade unions are desirable for each branch of the industry. In the Metal trades, the Sheet Metal Worker , the Machinist, the Raw Smith, etc., may have enough in common to join a Metal Trades' Federation. At the same time these trades have questions constantly arising which pertain to the respective trades only and make separate national unions a necessity.

On the other hand, where the conditions of industry, barely through the introduction of improved machinery, bring the different branches in that industry more closely together the industrial union is formed. Thus we find the maltsters, the brewery engineers, the beer drivers, etc. in the United Brewery Workmen, and the miners, the mine blacksmiths, the mine firemen, etc. in the United Mine Workers.

Another cause leading to the formation of two distinct types of allied trade federations has been the character of the employing class. In the building industry, the various trades work for different employers at differ-

ent times and places. A carpenter might work with one set of bricklayers or plasterers on one building and with another set on a second building. The problems that arise concern groups of laborers whose composition is constantly changing. To deal successfully with difficulties in the building trades separate local and national trade unions must manage their own trade affairs.

In those industries where the positions of the workers remain relatively fixed from season to season, and where the working force has the same employer throughout the year, industrial unions like the United Brewery Workmen and the Western Federation of Miners are likely to appear. (1)

The Allied Trade Council probably had its origin in connection with the general movement to organize more thoroughly the various trades. The building trades received special attention since the absence of elaborate machinery in this industry to take the place of human skill, made possible strong permanent organizations. These early attempts were local in character and resulted in the formation of numerous building trade councils and building trade sections.

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(1) - See Chapters VI. and VII. on the Industrial Union.

BUILDING TRADE COUNCILS AND BUILDING TRADE SECTIONS -

The local building trade sections of central labor unions bear a similar relation to the local federations as the recently formed union label leagues, with power to control their own trade affairs without interference from the general federation. The only connection the building trades' section has with the national federation is an indirect one through its membership in the central labor union. (1)

Under the International Building Trades' Council, the local building trades' council becomes an integral part of the structure, forming the most important subdivision and sending to the annual convention one delegate for each trade represented in the Council. There are important differences likewise between the central labor union and the building trades' council. (2) The central labor union is composed of delegates from miscellaneous local unions who attend the regular sessions usually with no more definite purpose in view than to discuss questions of interest to

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(1) For instance, the United Trades and Labor Council of Cuyahoga county affiliation with the American Federation of Labor provides in its constitution for a building trades' section, a metal trades' section, a marine and transportation section, a printing trades' section, a women's section, and a miscellaneous trades' section, each of whom meets at least once a month for the transaction of business. (2) - See Burke, Central Labor Unions, Co-

labor.

The local federation may be looked upon as a general clearing house for the constituent unions. Grievances are presented by the unions upon which decisions are rendered by the federation. Any union failing to observe the decision of the central body is suspended or expelled. But the penalties that may be imposed by central labor unions are not taken very seriously by trade unionists, for as a rule, local unions affiliated with their national trade unions may very well stand apart from the local federation.

Again, the legislation enacted by this central body is general in character, often involving a discussion of questions which concern no trade in particular and which lie perhaps outside the proper limits of trade union activity.

The allied trade council, on the other hand, is more homogeneous, composed of men who are closely associated in daily work, and whose interests are more or less the same. The definite purpose which is lacking in the central labor union dominates the meetings of a building trade council. Organized to look after the building industry, the council does not consider any question unless it concerns one or

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lumbia University Studies, Vol. XII., pp. 40-98.

more of the several branches. Where the administrative power is diffused in the central labor union, it is centralized in the trade council. The general executive board and boards of business agents in the building trades' council, for example, are given the full executive authority between meetings of the council.

According to a declaration of principles in the constitution of certain local building trade councils, the building trades' council controls the entire building industry from the foundation to the roof, including repairs and alterations of the same. It will tolerate no interference from any body of miscellaneous trades or callings.(Central Labor Unions) The building trade council cannot and will not divide responsibility with any central body made up of other trades and callings."(1)

Aside from the more general advantages to be gained through the closer association of trades in a single industry, the growth of allied trade councils may be ascribed to three principal causes, namely, (a) the need for a central executive to settle jurisdiction disputes and decide upon

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(1) Constitution for Local Building Trades' Councils affiliated with the National Building Trades' Council of America, 1903. Preamble.

trade policies, (b) greater efficiency in obtaining favorable conditions of work, and (c) the use of the sympathetic strike.[1]

Jurisdiction Disputes and Trade Policies -

In the American Federation it rests largely with the executive officers to carry out the trade policies agreed upon at the annual convention. In 1904 these officers represented the following trades: cigar making, granite cutting, mining, machine, glass bottle blowing, clerking, wood-working, tailoring, longshore, plumbing, and printing. On account of the non-representative character of this executive council, the building trade officials considered it incompetent to render sound judgments on building trade issues.[2]

In accordance with this belief, the International Building Trades' Council took charge of all matters pertaining to the industry, and delegated important power to a representative executive board all of whose members were familiar with building trade problems.[3] The officials

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(1) A fourth element entering prominently in the activities of printing trade councils is the use of the union label. -See under agreements.

(2) Labor Compendium, May 12, 1901.

(3) On the other hand, this objection to the structure of the American Federation will be partly, if not completely, overcome by the formation of national industrial federa-

of the American Federation. However, have opposed this independent activity and the president in his report to the convention of 1901 said, "there never yet existed two organizations claiming jurisdiction over the same territory, endeavoring to administer to its welfare without rivalry and conflict arising therefrom. There is nothing for which a National Building Trade Council (or any other independent Council) can declare which has not been more effectually emphasized and more clearly achieved by the American Federation of Labor. ** When questions arise concerning building trades exclusively beyond doubt the building trades' unions should have unrestricted and undisputed jurisdiction. But when the interest and welfare of all the workers of a particular locality are involved, the decision of all the organized workers in the central labor unions, trade assemblies, etc., should have the determining voice."(1)

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tions in the Federation of Labor, which follow the plan suggested at the convention of 1888. At the present time one national federation of allied trades has been formed under the American Federation of Labor organization and similar alliances are contemplated. The Metal Trades' Federation of America as its Constitution declares, "is composed of those organizations whose members are connected with each other through the metal industry or such kindred organizations. Constitution Metal Trades' Federation, 1903 Art. II., Sec. I.

(1) Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1901, pp. 17, 18.

The foregoing statement sets forth the defects of an independent allied trade council and at the same time suggests the remedy. A federation like the International Building Trades' Council standing alone is out of touch with organized labor in general, while the same federation, composed of building trade sections and affiliated with a voluntary general federation like the American Federation, keeps in touch with the larger movement. At the same time, the real advantage of an allied trade federation is retained, namely the power to settle questions peculiar to the industry.

In addition to the foregoing activity, the presence of serious jurisdiction disputes is partly responsible for the origin of the Structural Building Trades' Alliance. The International Building Trades' Council as we have seen, claims that it is not a dual organization to the American Federation since its field of work is narrower and more clearly defined. This position is strengthened by the absence of a national building trades' alliance in the Federation of Labor corresponding, for example, to the Metal trades' Federation. On the other hand, an independent allied trade federation has recently been established in direct competition with the International Building Trades'

Council. A conference of building trade representatives had been called October, 1903, in which a resolution had been adopted professing friendship toward the existing federations, and giving as a reason for the proposed organization, the inability of the American Federation and the International Building Trades' Council to render the necessary assistance to the mechanics of the building trades.(1) The chief defect in the two federations was thought to be their failure to settle jurisdiction disputes.(2) To counteract this independent movement a circular letter dated June 15, 1904, was sent by the national officers of the International Building Trades' Council to local unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the chief promoters of the new alliance. The communication made an appeal to the local unions to reconsider the vote that affiliated the Carpenters and Joiners with the recently formed alliance. "If it is the honest intention of the promoters of the Structural Building Trades' Alliance to improve the condition of the building trades .... would it not be the more reasonable to join the National Building Trades'

(1) The Carpenter, Nov., 1903, pp. 3-4.

(2) The case is stronger at least against the American Federation of Labor since it has declared "That the American Federation of Labor shall hereafter refuse to decide questions of jurisdiction involving National or International affiliated bodies unless by consent of the opposing

Council, ••• and if improvements are needed in its laws or in its management, it certainly can be and should be done at its annual convention." But the new federation had other designs as we shall see later, and preferred to follow an independent course.

Having traced briefly the attitude of the different federations toward jurisdiction disputes, we can properly consider the specific advantages of allied trade councils in this branch of activity. The settlement of jurisdiction disputes has always been one of the principal objects of allied trade councils.

The best example of this is afforded by the building trades,- partly because of their greater experience with trade councils, and partly because their members have suffered most keenly from trade jurisdiction troubles. Article X., Section 1 of the International Building Trade Constitution declares, that the International Council "will have no authority to interfere with the trade regulations of any local building trades' council unless a local build-

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interests and with the understanding that each is willing to accept the decision of the American Federation of Labor as a final settlement of the dispute." Convention Proceedings American Federation of Labor, Louisville Convention, 1900, p. 184.

ing trades' council interferes with the jurisdiction of another building trades' council."

Two checks are placed upon the growth of jurisdiction disputes. One is a preventive measure, and seeks to remove the source of trouble by refusing to admit trades whose boundaries are not well defined. The other is positive and consists in arbitrating differences between trades

The system of "jurisdiction statement "of work, required by the national council before a trade receives a charter from the federation, is applied in the following manner. Each organization affiliated or desiring affiliation in a building trades' council must make a detailed statement defining the class of work performed by its trade. This report is read before several successive meetings of the council and opportunity is given the delegates to raise any objection. In case an infringement on the work of any other trade is claimed, the general executive board decides the respective boundaries, subject to approval by the council. Where the lines of demarcation cannot be clearly drawn, the application is refused.[1] The treatment of the

(1) Constitution, National Building Trades' Council, 1903, Art. IV., Secs. 7-8.

Amalgamated Wood Workers by the national council illustrates the point under consideration. The furniture shops and factories of the country had formerly manufactured only household and office furniture. Later the trade extended to planing mills whose output consists of office and store fronts, fixtures, trimmings, etc. This activity brought the Amalgamated Woodworkers in direct competition with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners who claimed jurisdiction over this work. Accordingly, at the National Building Trades' Convention of 1902, the Wood Workers were excluded from membership by the adoption of the following resolution . "We regard the actions and attitude of the Amalgamated Wood Workers as antagonistic to the best interests of the various trades connected with the National Building Trades' Council, therefore, the Amalgamated Wood Workers are "denied admission to this National Council until such time as they are able to secure the same compensation and improved conditions as are being enjoyed by the other trade with which they come in competition." (1)

(1) Proceedings, Fifth Annual Convention, National Building Trades' Council, 1902, pp. 93-94.

Another instance occurred in 1902, when the National Union of Elevator Constructors applied for admission. Granting a charter to them was opposed by the National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Union of Steam Engineers No. 2. One reason for the overlapping of jurisdiction in this case was the change in the method of hoisting building materials. The introduction of electric elevators in place of steam hoisters gave rise to disputes among the Engineers, the Electrical Workers, and the Elevator Constructors, each union claiming some part of the work of the other. On Dec. 26, 1902, the general executive board of the national council decided to withhold a charter until the Elevator Constructors had settled all jurisdiction claims with the remaining unions.(1)

The second method of lessening discord among affiliated organizations is carried out through a system of arbitration. Local constitutions provide that all differences between trades engaged in constructing or repairing a building must be adjusted off the work, and in no event may

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(1) Proceedings, Sixth Annual Convention, 1903, p. 38, National Building Trades' Council.

the dispute involve an employer who has no interest in the matter or is not responsible for the trouble.(1) When all efforts to settle a grievance have been made by the local authorities, the question is submitted to the general executive board. The decision of this board stands until the annual convention, which determines whether the action shall be final or not.(2) Notwithstanding the power exercised by the general executive board, certain officials of national building trade unions, not connected with this trade fed-

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(1) Local Building Trades' Councils affiliated with the National Building Trades' Council. Constitution, 1902, Art. VII., Sec. 1.

(2) National Building Trades Council constitution 1903 Art XI sec 1. The power of the national council to discipline unions who refuse to abide by decisions rendered has been shown in a recent case. The Marble Setters and Tile Layers of St. Louis held a monopoly of work at the St. Louis Fair by forming a union affiliating with the International Building Trades' Council and refusing to admit any additional men. Wishing to gain all possible advantage the union members worked overtime in order to satisfy the demand. As the managers of the World's Fair had previously agreed to employ none but union members, whenever men from other cities applied they were permitted to work only through the union of their trade.

The International Building Trades' Council took the matter in hand and ordered the Marble Setters and Tile Layers to admit new men. When the union refused to obey the Council, its charter was revoked.

eration, determined to organize a second Building trade alliance and place greater power in the hands of the general executive board. These men believed that a higher degree of efficiency in the settlement of jurisdiction claims could be reached in this way, for in spite of all efforts to lessen friction between trades, disputes had increased without a corresponding authority to deal with them. One of the largest and most important of these struggles has occurred between the United Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Woodworkers.(1) The relations between these organizations are noteworthy in this connection because out of the circumstances attending the dispute arose the more recently formed allied trade federation.

The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was formed in 1881. The "joiner" known as the cabinet maker, planing-mill, bench hand, etc., performs the most delicate parts of the work. A jurisdiction decision rendered after the rival union had become important gave control over the joiners to the Amalgamated Wood Workers' Union or-

(1) Reasons have already been given why the Wood Workers were excluded from the International Building Trades' Council.

ganized in 1890. The Carpenters and Joiners refused to accept the decision, and prepared to resist any encroachment on the part of the Wood Workers. In 1900 the situation having grown serious, the executive council of the American Federation decided that control over "cabinet makers, machine hands, and factory wood workers" belonged to the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union.(1) The Carpenters and Joiners replied by declaring the Wood Workers a 'scab' organization and practically boycotted their union card and union label.

One incident occurring in 1903, seems to justify in part the position held by the Carpenters and Joiners. For two years preceding June 9, 1903, members of the Bronx Borough District Council, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners had an agreement with their employers providing for an eight hour work day and a minimum wage of $18.00 per week for forty-four hours. A lockout having taken place on the above date, the members of the Wood Workers' Union filled the positions of the Carpenters and Joiners under an agreement with the Manufacturing Wood Workers' Association of New York. This agreement signed July 10, 1903, provided

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(1) The inability of the American Federation of Labor to enforce its decision in this case has an important bearing on the result.

for a nine-hour day and a minimum wage of $19.00 per week for bench and machine hands of the first class, and $18.00 for hands of the second class, a week's work to consist of fifty hours. This gave the Wood Workers less wages for nine hours than the carpenters and joiners had received for eight hours.(1) When the Structural Building Trades'Alliance met at Indianapolis August, 1904, largely through the influence of the Carpenters and Joiners' International Union, the foregoing experience was kept prominently in mind. A constitution was adopted which vested full power to render and enforce jurisdiction decisions in the board of governors.(2)

Agreements -

Next in importance to the settlement of jurisdiction

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(1) - See Pamphlet - Some facts in the controversy between the International Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Wood Workers.

(2) Constitution of the Structural Building Trade Alliance 1904, Art. IV., Secs. 2-4. Indianapolis News, Aug. 18,1904

In letters sent to the International Building Trades' Council dated Sept. 10 and 12, respectively, 1903, the secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers gives his reasons in favor of another federation to settle jurisdiction disputes. It appears that the men most interested in the new alliance objected primarily to the structure of the International Building Trades Council, on account of the importance given to local building trades' councils as the unit in government. An alli-

disputes is the approach to uniform conditions throughout the industry by allied trade agreements.(1)

According to the testimony of Mr. Steinbis before the Industrial Commission, the main purpose of the International Council is to form agreements between the employer and employe, in order to avoid strikes and lockouts.(2)

From the standpoint of the employer, agreements are serviceable in gaining uniform conditions in his labor supply. But the agreement may be between a single manufacturer and a strong combination of labor, in which case the employer is often placed at a serious disadvantage in bargaining. Furthermore, in many localities, competition among employes, building employes, in particular, is so keen that one contractor in order to gain a temporary advantage will make certain concessions to the trade unions. To prevent this inequality in bargaining power and to remove hurtful competition, employers' associations have been

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ance dealing with national unions directly through their executive officers might exercise better control over trade jurisdiction. The movement is too young, however, to predict how effective the alliance will be in lessening discord between related trades.

(1) Secretary-treasurer International Building Trades' Council.

(2) Industrial Commission Report, Vol. VII., p. 22.

formed.(1) When agreements are made between contractors' Associations on the one hand, and trade Unions on the other, more favorable terms to the employers may be expected. In some cases the associations insist on a provision in their agreements which forbids a member working for anyone outside of the contractors' association. When, as it frequently happens, the association embraces only a portion of the contractors in a single community, the non-members, though inclined to be fair, are compelled to employ non-union men. In such cases the exclusive agreement imposes a hardship. The Bricklayers' and Masons' Union of St. Louis had an agreement with the contractors of that city, stipulating that no member of the Union should work for anyone except a member of the employers' association. A stone mason contractor, engaged in general building operations was excluded from membership in the Master Bricklayers' Association by a law that made ineligible any one not a practical bricklayer. Although the stone mason contractor favored union labor, and wished to join the Association, he had to employ non-union men, since all union bricklayers were parties to

(1) In New York, for example, a "Builders' League" in the absence of an agreement assisted a contractor whose force was on strike by supplying non-union men.

the agreement.[1]

Where both sides to an agreement are fairly well organized and the advantages in bargaining are about equal a further advantage is gained by lessening the probability of strikes. In the building trades a strike on one section may tie up a large part of the industry. Under the system of separate agreements expiring at different times, a trade strike may occur at any moment. On the other hand, an agreement between a trade council and the employers binds all trades in the council to work as a unit under common rules. Before a strike may be declared on any portion of the work all the trades represented in the agreement must be consulted.

The recent movement toward stronger organization of employers has developed in some directions pronounced opposition to collective bargaining. The National Metal Trades' Association is one example of this tendency. During the year 1900, a joint agreement concerning the hours of work existed between the International Association of Machinists and the National Metal Trades' Association. The terms were so favorable that other branches of the metal trades made an attempt to form similar national agreements. Conferences

(1) Industrial Commission Report, Vol. VII., p. p. 22 seq.

for this purpose were held between representatives of the metal trade unions and the metal trade association.[1] But the plan failed owing to the difficulty that arose between the National Metal Trades' Association and the Machinists' Union. In the spring of 1901, after a season of industrial peace in the machine trade, the International Association of Machinists demanded a general increase in wages and several changes in the conditions of work. A conference committee was authorized by the employers' association, but the Machinists who were unwilling to settle their differences in that way ordered a general strike.

A few weeks later, the employers met in special convention, abrogated the New York Agreement of 1900, and adopted a declaration of principles setting forth the right of each employer to determine for himself the conditions

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(1) An indirect result of this activity was the formation a little later of the Metal Trades' Federation of North America embracing allied trades wherever organized. Unlike the other related trade federations, this alliance had the cooperation of the American Federation because it formed a part of one general movement. The President had reported to the Convention of 1901, "As the metal trades are coming to be controlled by the same employers or directors a trade federation of the various metal trade unions is highly desirable."
- See also Steinbiss' testimony, Industrial Commission Report, Vol. VII., p.22.

under which he shall employ his labor.[1]

In other instances, there is a willingness to form agreements with single unions in preference to councils. This is due probably to the greater influence a national union has over its local unions in keeping an agreement,[2] and also to the activity of councils in general or sympathetic strikes.[3] In the lockout of 1900 in the Chicago building trades, the Building Contractors' Council refused to treat with the Building Trades' Council, but agreed to meet representatives of the various unions for the purpose of forming separate agreements. No terms were to be in force until the unions had severed all connection with the council and had promised to remain independent of trade federations during the life of the agreement.[4]

The specific terms of allied trade agreements where they do exist usually refer to (a) the hours of work, (b) the union label, (c) the working card, and (d) arbitration of difficulties.

The International Building Trades' Council and its

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(1) See pamphlet, "The National Metal Trades' Association, What. What it does, What it costs, pp. 9-10.
(2) Under "Industrial Unions" we shall see that one advantage of this type over the non-autonomous federation lies in making and keeping agreements.
(3) - See under the head of Strikes.
(4) American Federationist, August, 1900.

branches declare for the eight-hour day (Art. II., Sec. 1 of the Constitution), and sometimes render aid to other organizations in their efforts to obtain the shorter day. In the third annual convention, 1900, the eight-hour demand made by the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America No. 1 of Chicago, was indorsed, and a resolution pledging support of the Council accepted.(1)

Whenever possible an eight-hour or a nine-hour day clause is inserted in all agreements.

The label as a trade device figures prominently in allied printing trades(2) and metal trades' councils. It is used to a smaller extent in the building trades on account of the peculiar nature of the industry. At first the International Building Trades' Council had no idea of adopting a general label. In a letter written in 1895, Mr. Steinmetz, the founder of the national alliance said, "Although the aims and interests of the building trades are morally and theoretically identical with all other labor organizations, practically and technically they are sepa-

(1) Proceedings International Building Trades' Council Convention, 1900, p.40.

(2) The Joint Conference Board of 1905, including representatives from the various trades in the printing industry, has agreed upon the following regulations with regard to the label used by allied printing trade councils.

The International Typographical Union takes charge of all trade council labels, and loans them to local councils as its agents. No other label differing in design from the

rate and distinct. While we can help others by insisting upon their union labels, we cannot expect the same help from them, as a union label is with us out of the question. And even if we had one it would be impracticable:" (1)

Rapid developments in the next few years considerably modified this view, and the first suggestion for a label came at the Milwaukee Convention of 1898. Two years later the Fourth Annual Convention, 1901, adopted a design to be used on buildings erected entirely by union labor. (2) The label was first attached to one of the large wholesale and retail grocery stores in St. Louis and has more recently been placed on dwellings and office buildings in several large cities. (3)

Working Card -

Another provision found in most agreements regulates the use of the working card. For example, "It shall be the duty of the Council to encourage the making of agreements by the Council with reliable contractors, under terms and

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label now in use shall be issued by any council, and no organization except the allied trade council in a single jurisdiction shall authorize the use of the union label. International Book-Binder, March, 1905, p. 84.

(1) Weekly Compendium, December 6, 1896.

(2) Fourth Annual Convention Proceedings, N. B. T. C., 1901, p.124.

(3) Labor Compendium, February 15, 1903.

conditions as will secure a guarantee that such contractors will employ or allow to be employed on work under their control none but mechanics and laborers in possession of the current quarterly working card of the National Building Trades' Council".(1)

Under this law an agreement was entered into during 1901 between a builder and the building trades' council of St. Louis. This employer agreed to engage none but men who carried working cards issued by the Council, and to compel all sub-contractors to observe the same rule. In return the trade federation agreed to discourage strikes, although the sub-contractors may have had trouble on another building with which the original employer had nothing to do.(2)

When the working card is thus made by agreement a condition of employment, it becomes a good organizer for the union and a prompt collector of dues as well. No member who is in arrears above a given amount is in good standing, or entitled to work under the agreement. The card of a printer, for instance, does not allow him the

(1) General Constitution for Local Councils affiliated with the N.B.T.C., 1902, Art..VI., Sec. 2.
(2) Fifth Convention Proceedings. International B.T.C., 1902, p.46.

privilege of working on a building, unless he has the national alliance card in addition to his own trade union card; and he cannot obtain the former unless he possesses the latter.(1) In the agreement providing for general working conditions and adopted in 1896 by the building trades' council of Washington D.C., we read: "In consideration of the organizations represented in the building trades' council, a central, representative body of the District of Columbia, pledging their support to the undersigned concerns and individuals, the latter agree to employ none but local union labor, recognized as such by the said building trades council on all their work in the District of Columbia."(2)

On the other hand, employers' associations in some localities are opposed to the card system of trade unions. Thus, the Employers' Association of the Building Trades of Baltimore in April, 1903, adopted the following rule: "We will not recognize any card or card system, that will in any way abridge the rights and liberties of ourselves or any workmen in our employ, or any person who may be employed by us as sub-contractors in any capacity whatever."(3)

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(1) Nat. Building Trades Council: Its Origin, Objects, and Benefits, pp. 9-10.
(2) Third Annual Session, International B. T. C., 1900, p. 79.
(3) Baltimore Sun, April, 1903.

Arbitration -

In the contract of the Washington trade council referred to above, the following additional provisions appear. "In cases of difference growing out of failure to observe the foregoing undertakings, or which may rise in the employment of unfair labor, and which cannot be settled between the said organization and the concern or individual complained of, a board of arbitration shall be elected. Three arbitrators shall be chosen by the said building trades' council and three by the concerns or individuals complained of, and if necessary, these six shall elect a seventh impartial man. The decision of this board of arbitration shall be binding on all parties" to the dispute. (1)

To make this system more general, at the Kansas City Convention of 1898, the delegates adopted the following resolution: "Whereas it has been proved that wherever introduced a joint conference board or board of arbitration composed of the representatives of local building trades' councils and master builders" has reduced strikes to a minimum, "therefore, be it resolved, That we hereby request all building trades councils to work to the best of their

(1) International B. T. C., Third Annual Convention, 1900, p. 79.

ability to establish such conference or arbitration boards with associations of master builders wherever practicable."[1]

Likewise, to increase the efficiency of the system, the general executive board of the national council is ready to act as an arbitration committee in any local trouble, whenever called upon by a building trades' council or national union.[2] On the part of certain employers, there seems a strong sentiment in favor of joint arbitration boards. The builders' exchange of Memphis, Tennessee, has declared "If there is one side to anything there must be another, and the time has gone by when one side can dictate the rights of the other side. Arbitration for the settlement of questions at issue between employers and workmen presupposes that both sides are willing to concede the rights of the other."[3]

Again, in a report to the National Association of Builders, 1902, the secretary, Mr. John M. Herring, said, "The unions are now regarded as powerful institutions by both press and public because of their splendid organiza-

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(1) Labor Compendium, September 10, 1899; Constitution of the National Building Trades' Council, 1903, pp. 30-31.
(2) A permanent conference board was established in 1899 between the Building Contractors' Association and the Building Trades' Council of St. Louis.
(3) Report of Committee appointed by the Builders' Exchange of Memphis, Tenn., p.4.

tion. The builders must recognize this condition and achieve a like organization, strong and well poised. When they possess such organization all labor disputes can be arbitrated between them and the labor unions without recourse to strikes or lockouts."(1)

The reports of the union officials, however, do not indicate much success in voluntary arbitration. For instance, among other recommendations, the secretary-treasurer of the International Building Trades' Council at the fourth annual convention, suggested compulsory arbitration between the Trade Council and the National Building Contructors' Council in the settlement of trade disputes. According to this plan each member must accept the decision of the board under penalty of expulsion from his organization.(2)

Strikes -

A third reason for the formation of related trade federations is the greater effectiveness in some industries of the sympathetic strike. In the absence of an arbitration board, strikes are declared whenever employes wish to

(1) Labor Compendium, Nov. 23, 1902.
(2) Fourth Annual Convention Proceedings, U.B.T.C., 1901, p. 72.

enforce their demands, and in these movements allied trade federations are as prominent as they are in the peaceful adjustment of differences. In a circular issued in 1902 by the National Metal Trades' Federation, the primary aim of that organization is stated to be the formation of agreements with manufacturers. When trouble occurs, however, the federation does not hesitate to use its strength most effectively and to inaugurate a sympathetic or general strike in support of the grievance.(1) In this same circular addressed by the Metal Trades' Federation to local metal trades' councils we read:

"The National Metal Trades' Association(2) realizes that while the organizations act independently they have very little to fear, for one organization will assist the manufacturer to defeat the other. In the past several unions had their men remain at work while others were on strike." To remedy this condition, allied trade sections or councils whenever it is deemed necessary act as a unit against organizations of employers.

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(1) A distinction may be drawn between sympathetic and general strikes. A strike is sympathetic when a trade, whose members have no direct grievance is called out to aid another trade on strike. It is 'general' when all the unions working under a common agreement stop work. In this case a violation of the agreement in only one part, is equivalent to a violation of the whole agreement and affects all trades alike.

(2). The employers' organization

The methods used by different alliances in ~~sympathetic~~ sympathetic or general strikes are for the most part similar. In the first place, the federations do not interfere with local or national trade disputes unless called upon to do so. Whenever a local union desires the support of affiliated unions in a contemplated strike, a full statement of the grievance is submitted to the local trade council. The executive board of the council or in some cases the board of business agents who represents the different trades endeavors to adjust the trouble without resort to a strike. Failing in this , the committee reports back to the council whose vote usually determines whether a sympathetic strike shall be called.(1) In all cases, however, any affiliated local or national union inaugurating a strike without the

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(1) Allied printing trades' councils engage in sympathetic strikes under the following provisions agreed upon at the joint conference of 1903 among representatives of the five national unions in the printing industry.

"When a sympathetic strike shall have been inaugurated by the parties to this agreement the initiating union shall pay those involved... the sum of $7.00 per week to each married man involved and $5.00 per week to each single man or woman involved for the period of eight weeks, unless settlement is sooner effected.

When a joint demand is made involving either a question of wages or hours, all conferences with proprietors shall be conducted by joint committees of parties to this agreement, and in case a strike or lockout shall result, each union shall provide strike benefits for its own members, and shall have no financial recourse on any of the allied unions." International Bookbinder, Mar.,1903, p.34.

approval of the local council or the national executive board may receive no support from the various trades represented in the federation.

As expressed by a member of the International Building Trades' Council, the allied trade federation is "a combination of trades in defense of a single trade where a single trade feels itself aggrieved."(1)

To make the position of the unions stronger in sympathetic strikes, an article like this sometimes appears in trade council constitutions. "Any trade having or making any agreement with their employers must insert the following in such agreement: That the party of the first part agrees to take no exception or make no objections to our stopping work when called upon to do so by kindred organizations."(2)

As may be inferred from the foregoing account, the chief authority in the conduct of many local strikes is

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(1) International Building Trades' Council Convention, Proceedings Third, 1900, pp. 52-56. A national agreement existed for a short time between the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen's Union, and the International Brotherhood of Book-binders in which each union bound itself to help the others in time of need. This tripartite agreement was carried out through the local allied printing trades' council which appointed a committee to adjust any difficulty with the employer, and in case of failure reported the result to the executive council of the various national unions. A sympathetic

vested in the board of business agents. Questions demanding quick and positive action are continually arising especially in the building trades. As any delay until the next meeting of the central council often defeats the end in view, the administration of affairs has been entrusted to paid agents who devote all their time to the interests of the industry. The authority exercised by this board of business agents is one of the principal objections urged against the system as carried on by the Building trades. (1)

From the standpoint of the employer, the business agent has certain advantages as well as disadvantages. In the first place, he serves a useful purpose in establishing uniform conditions of employment. The employer in turn through the business agent understands more thoroughly the attitude of his employes, and by treating with one delegation only avoids needless bargaining with his men.

Another advantage accruing to some employers and which is not so legitimate, is the skillful use of funds to obtain the good will of the labor representative. (2)

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strike followed if the council upheld the grievance. Ind. Com. Report, Vol. VII., pp. 172-173.

(2) - Constitution Building Trade Council of Detroit and vicinity, Art. XIX., Sec. 10.

(1) - See under Structure of Related Trade Federations.

(2) Bulletin of the National Metal Trades' Association, Vol. II., p. 924.

The following statement from the bulletin of the Metal Trades' Association is instructive. "Employers have learned that they can enjoy a great deal of latitude in the conduct of their business if they pay the walking delegate. They can employ non-union hands; they can use non-union material; they can dispense with the trades-union label." (1)

Besides, the walking delegate may injure an unfriendly employer by resorting to underhand methods. Sometimes the agent receives certain sums from one contractor to call a strike on the building of a rival contractor. In the building trades especially, where it is highly important to complete a contract on time, it often rests with the business agent to carry out, or to defeat this plan. Thus, the practice of'blackmail' has developed, in which money is extorted from the employer on condition that his men will be allowed to work without union interference. A typical instance of blackmail occurred in New York city during the existence of the "United Board of Building Trades' organized in March, 1902. The Brotherhood of Painters had applied for admission into the New York Building Trades' council. The international organization had made an exclu-

(1) Bulletin of the National Metal Trades' Association, Vol. II., p. 924.

sive agreement with the employers covering New York city. The amalgamated Painters, a rival body, supported by the Board of Delegates, opposed the employment of Brotherhood men. A general strike was declared on all work employing members of the Brotherhood of Painters. A little later, the Board of Delegates agreed to admit the Brotherhood of Painters as a union organization and call the strike off, on payment of a certain amount by employers to members of the Board.(1) Under this arrangement the men returned to work.

With the growth of employers associations and the introduction of a more advanced system of collective bargaining and arbitration, however, the walking delegate in many places is losing his power for evil, and is becoming an administrative official with little individual initiative.

The unions have much to say in favor of the business agent. Mr. Steinoiss(2) in his testimony before the Industrial commission said: "Business agents do not interfere with the business of employers or stir up difficulties except in isolated cases. Such charges are trumped up by em-

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(1) "Quarterly Journal of Economics", May, 1904, The New York Building Trades. J. R. Commons.
(2) General secretary-treasurer of the International Building Trades' Councils.

ployers when disputes arise. The duty of the business agent is to collect dues, see that the men have their cards bring non-union men into the organization, and in case of trouble adjust it if possible by peaceful means. The business agent has the same sort of value to the union which the manager has to a business concern."(1)

In spite of this opinion, it is often claimed even by friends of labor, that the walking delegate has been an injury to the cause he represents. Exercising the powers granted him by the executive board, he has frequently acted with haste and imprudence, bringing injury upon those in whose interest he is supposed to work.

Allied trade councils as we have seen are active in the settlement of jurisdiction disputes between trades, in the establishment of better working conditions, and in the conduct of sympathetic or general strikes. Among the other functions of these councils we may include (a) the use of the boycott, and (b) legislative and political activity.

A method of enforcing demands more peaceful than the strike, which has been generally adopted by councils in common with other labor unions is the boycott. The more

(1) Industrial Commission Report, Vol. XIV., p. 132.

comprehensive the organization and the greater the control exercised over local unions, the more effective will be the boycott. An important boycott in which a local building trades' council enlisted the support of the national council was placed in July, 1901. The Schlitz Brewing Company was declared unfair by the building trades' council of Milwaukee for violating its agreement with the council. The boycotted firm appealed to the Federated Trades' Council, chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Since the latter organization wished to disband the building council and form a building trades' section under the Federated Council, the American Federation refused to support the boycott.

A struggle followed between the local building trades' council, supported by the national council on the one side, and the Milwaukee Brewing Association, and the American Federation on the other.(1)

The employers' combine, supported by a federated council ready to reorganize the building trades, proved too strong for the building alliance, and in May, 1903, the

(1) Inter. B.T.C. Report of Fifth Annual Proceedings, 1902, pp. 18-29.

boycott was removed.[1]

The general effect of the boycott on employers is usually to bring them closer together since they realize that a strong central council may seriously impair the business of a single firm standing alone. On the other hand, if all manufacturers or contractors in a single locality are declared unfair, the boycott loses its effectiveness.

At the Buffalo Convention of 1903, the National Metal Trades' Association adopted the following: "Whereas the boycott is cowardly and un-American, therefore, be it resolved - That our commissioners upon being notified that any member is subjected to a boycott, notify the entire membership of the fact. Resolved, that each member of the association in making purchases give such boycotted member the preference over all competitors until the boycott is declared off."[2]

In addition, a roll of honor is published in the Bulletin of the National Metal Trades' Association, containing the names of firms boycotted by unions.

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(1) Inter. M. T. C., Sixth Annual Proceedings, 1903, pp. 205-206.
(2) Nat. Metal Trades' Association, Vol. II., p. [illegible].

Legislative Activity -

Efforts to secure legislation in the interests of those trades composing the particular industry have been made from time to time by allied trade councils. A specific declaration on the subject appears in the constitution adopted by the International Building Trades' Council where particular reference is made to a mechanic's lien law.(1) No reference to such an object is made in the Constitution of the Metal Trades' Federation, but this is probably due to its close association with the American Federation of Labor which takes the lead in the promotion of labor legislation.

A resolution adopted in 1899 by the general executive board of the International Building Trades' Council authorized the president and general secretary-treasurer to appoint a general legislative committee, for the purpose of encouraging labor legislation at the National capitol.(2)

Whenever local legislation(3) is desired the usual course is for the local building trades' council to cooperate with the central labor union which embraces all trades in the vicinity. Although legislative demands vary in dif-

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(1) Constitution and Laws of the I.B.T.C., 1904, p. 6
(2) Third I.B.T.C., 1900, p. 20. Similar activity is carried on in the various states. In the official report of

ferent localities one reform has received ~~received~~ universal attention in accordance with a resolution adopted at the second annual convention of the national council. "We urge on the several building trades' councils the necessity of securing legislation in our different localities that will provide for the safety of mechanics and others who work on buildings, namely, that all buildings in the course of erection shall be provided with temporary flooring from the second-story and on each succeeding story." (1)

Political Activity -

The Metal Trades' Federation and the Structural Building Trades' Alliance have so far held themselves aloof from politics. The International Building Trades' Alliance on the contrary, does not hesitate to indorse and advocate the election of any candidate who is known to favor organized labor. For this purpose the columns of the official journal, the Labor Compendium, are used. A recent example

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the Joint legislative committee including representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Locomotive Firemen, Railroad Trainmen, and the Federation of Labor for the State of Indiana, we find typical examples of this work. "Bills favorable to labor introduced into the state legislature are given hearty support, while unfavorable legislation is strongly opposed. - See Indiana Blue Book, Joint Legislative Committee of Organized Labor. 1903.

(3) Local B.T.C. affiliated with the I.B.T.C., Const. 1902, p. 2.

(1) Labor Compendium August 21, 1898.

of this activity in national affairs is the earnest support given Mr. William R. Hearst in his efforts to become the standard bearer of the Democratic Party in the campaign of 1904.

To illustrate local participation in politics, the following typical examples are taken from the Labor Compendium.

"At a meeting of the building trades' council last Wednesday a communication was received from Electrical Workers' Union No. 1, asking for the indorsement of William P. Staats, a member of the union for many years, a prominent member of the building trades' council, and now a candidate for state senator on the Allied Third Party Ticket." This request met with the approval of the Council.(1)

Again, a resolution offered by the Granite Cutters' Union was adopted as follows: Whereas John T. Hunt, candidate for Congress from the Eleventh district of Missouri, a stone cutter by trade, is a tried and true friend of trades-unions, therefore, be it Resolved, That we the Building Trades Council of St. Louis and Vicinity do indorse the said

(1) Labor Compendium October 26, 1902.

John T. Hunt for office ***** and that we give him our universal support from now until election day, November 4, 1902.

# Chapter VI.

## THE HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

Allied trade councils, as we have seen, have arisen in those trades which have common interests and at the same time whose activities are sufficiently distinct to warrant separate national unions. In other trades or industries this differentiation is less pronounced, and the several branches of the trade or industry are too closely related to make independent trade organizations desirable. In such industries as mining or brewing, where the interests of one trade are interwoven with those of the other trades represented, a different type of alliance has developed, in which the separate trades associated in daily work amalgamate under one national control, with one system of finance and one representative journal. Aside from these economies arising from the maintenance of one central office in place of a separate office for each trade, it is claimed for the industrial union that it represents a higher form of labor organization uniting under one government all who work for the same employer.

In the present development of labor organizations in the United States, several national unions bearing a certain resemblance to the industrial form represent in real-

ity only an intermediate stage in the movement toward so-called industrialism. The Typographical Union, for instance, through the introduction of machinery has found it necessary to include the machinists who are employed in the printing office, although the pressmen and other workers in the industry belong to independent national unions. Again, such unions as the Garment Workers, the Cigar Makers, the Boot and Shoe Workers, etc., prompted by the minute sub-division of labor which has taken place find it expedient to amalgamate the different branches of the industry under one central government. But these organizations, likewise, are not industrial unions proper, since they seek to embrace only those workers who are following essentially one trade, and whose interests are bound up one with the other. In other words, the unit is still the trade and not the industry.

The type of labor organization to which attention is directed in this and the following chapter is one that disregards the trade unit altogether in the national structure and extends its boundaries to include all the different trades forming the industry. The principal unions in this class at the present time are the United Brewery Workmen, the United Mine Workers, the Western Federation of Miners, and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes.(1)

(1) - American trade union structure is undergoing a con-

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## UNITED BREWERY WORKMEN.

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The National Union of Journeymen Brewers was organized in 1886. Owing to the division of labor that had taken place, however, this organization proved unsatisfactory and a more comprehensive union was soon planned.

The charter issued by the American Federation of Labor to the Brewery Workmen on March 4, 1887 read: "The organization shall be known as the National Union of United Brewery Workmen of the United States, for the thorough organization of the trade and a more perfect federation of all trades and labor unions, and the union being duly formed is empowered and authorized to initiate into its membership any person or persons in accordance with its own laws, and conduct the business affairs of said union in compliance with the best interests of the trade and labor movement in general. The autonomy of the union is hereby ordained and secured."

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stant change, and no hard and fast line may be drawn between one form of alliance and another. In this connection, only those unions which have carried the principle of organization by industries to the extreme are considered, with occasional reference to other prominent unions which seem to be approaching the industrial stage of development.

(1) The following account is based partly on facts furnished by the editor of the Brauer Zeitung.

On May 11, 1887, the general executive board of the United Brewery Workmen notified the workmen in the different branches, namely the brewers, beer drivers, maltsters, beer bottlers, engineers, firemen, etc., to join the more centralized union under the charter granted by the American Federation. At the first convention in Detroit, September, 1887, delegates were present from the brewers, beer drivers maltsters, brewery engineers and brewery firemen, who adopted unanimously the following resolution: Malsters, brewery engineers, brewery firemen and beer drivers shall be accepted as members into the national union." (1) A further motion was carried to issue charters to all branches in the industry except the journeymen coopers, and this practically completed the amalgamation of the several trades into one industrial union.

During 1887-88 the organization developed rapidly on account of the friendly attitude of the employers. It often happened that the master brewer, fearing the effects of an open hostility to organized labor, consented to have his plant unionized and ordered his employes to join the union. A little later, however, this new element, ignorant of the aims of organization, caused considerable trouble by mak-

(1) Proceedings - United Brewery Workmen, 1887, p.10.

ing extravagant demands. In order to thwart these extreme plans, the employers organized "The Master Brewers' Association" and determined to break the power of the union by declaring a general lockout through the county. As prearranged by the employers all members of the brewery unions were locked out April 1 - 22, 1888, in Philadelphia, New York, Newark, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee. Prior to this time the United Brewery Workmen included a membership of about 12,500, but in consequence of the lockout the numerical strength fell to 1,250.

The union then reorganized and developed thereafter along different lines as a voluntary association, making satisfactory gains in membership year by year. During 1895, the American Federation of Labor endeavored to drive the brewery workers who had formed national trade assembly No. 35. Knights of Labor (1) either from that organization or from the American Federation. At the Cincinnati Convention of 1896, the Federation decided to instruct all organizations affiliated with the American Federation to give the United Brewery Workmen as a national union all possible

(1) In March, 1894, the general executive board of the Knights of Labor had granted permission to the Brewery Workmen to form a national trade assembly. - Journal of the Knights of Labor, March 8, 1894.

assistance in opposition to the Knights of Labor.[1] From that period the brewery workmen gradually withdrew from the Knights of Labor until at the present time there are practically no brewery workmen in that Order.[2]

Aside from the contest between the national union and the national trade assembly of the Knights, serious trouble has arisen from time to time over the jurisdiction claims of the respective branches in the union. The international Union of Steam Engineers has claimed the brewery engineers, and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen has sought to bring the brewery firemen into its union, etc. The various grievances have been submitted to

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(1) Record of Proceedings. American Federation of Labor, 1896, p.89. - The executive council in October, 1896, agreed to indorse the label of the United Brewery Workmen on condition that no Knights of Labor assemblies of breweries be permitted to use the label on their products.

(2) To illustrate the effort made by the Knights of Labor to retain brewery workmen the following circular sent to local unions is typical. "All strikes and boycotts won by brewery workers were while connected with the Knights of Labor.

The National Trade Council of the United Brewery Workers of North America affiliated with the Knights of Labor was organized on Oct. 20, 1897, for the purpose of advancing the condition of workers in the industry. Under rules of our national trade councils, the local assembly will be attached directly to the district assembly and will have absolute control of its own trade affairs.

Relative cost of membership, annual, in the national union of United Brewery Workmen affiliated with the American Federation of Labor $3.90 in the national trade council of the United Brewery Workers affiliated with the Knights of Labor $.48." - See Journal of the Knights of Labor, January 6, 1898.

the annual conventions of the American Federation for settlement. In 1900 and again in 1901, the Federation of Labor declared: "that the best interests of the movement will be conserved by resting the jurisdiction over the employes of the brewery in the United Brewery Workmen's Union."(1) But in 1902, the executive council of the American Federation apparently reversing the previous action of the convention, ordered the Brewery Workmen to revoke all charters issued to Engineers' and Firemen's unions since the convention of 1900. The American Federation by indorsing this stand is now opposed to the present structure of the Brewery Workmen who are striving to maintain jurisdiction over the various branches of their industry.(2)

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(1) Report of Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1900, pp. 186-187.
Ibid., 1901, pp. 245,246.

(2) Notwithstanding the struggles of the Brewery Workmen to keep their union intact, steady progress seems to have been made. On April 1, 1899, the national secretary reported a membership of 12,450. In September, 1900, he reported the number of local unions to be 202, and the membership 19,900; in September, 1901, local unions 280, and membership 26,000; and in February, 1903, local unions 318 and a membership of 31,300.

- See Proceedings, National Union of the United Brewery Workmen, 1900, p.6; 1901, p.45; 1903, p. 154.

UNITED MINE WORKERS.

The first organization of miners on a national scale appears to have been the American Miners' Association formed in Illinois during 1861, which had at one time state and district organizations in several eastern states. The association suffered severely in the strikes of 1867 and 1868 and soon dissolved. From 1867 to 1874, the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association in the anthracite coal region, and the Miners' National Association in the bituminous fields carried on the work of organization in their respective localities. From 1874, however, their decline was rapid, and thereafter little activity seems to have been displayed among the miners until the organizers of the Knights of Labor infused new life into the coal industry. In 1885 we hear of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, or the Miners' National Progressive Union which gained considerable influence throughout the coal fields and succeeded in establishing joint conferences and annual agreements regulating scales of wages with the coal operators.

The rivalry existing between the Progressive Union and the district assembly of the Knights of Labor proved

disastrous to both; and in 1890, the union of the two organizations, resulting in the United Mine Workers of America, seemed the only solution to the difficulty. The events of the early years of the new union were rather discouraging, and after the strike of 1894 the membership considerably diminished until 1897, when a general strike gave new impetus to the movement. From this time the numerical strength of the union rapidly increased, the strike of 1900 aided the miners materially, and in 1902, the great strike of the anthracite coal miners firmly established the United Mine Workers of America.(1)

In forming the structure of the Mine Workers' Union, the officials saw plainly the need of one jurisdiction extending over the whole coal industry. Accordingly they designed to include not only unskilled as well as skilled workers, not only the mine engineers, the machinist, the teamster, etc., with the miner himself, but workers in both the anthracite and the bituminous regions in order to control the production of these competing fields.

On account of this inclusiveness, controversies have arisen between the Mine Workers on the one hand and the

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(1) Mitchell: Organized Labor, p.362 and Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XVII., pp. 184,185.

Firemen and Blacksmiths on the other. At the Convention of 1900, the American Federation of Labor, with whom the different organizations were affiliated, declared through its executive board that the United Mine Workers, in the interest of greater effectiveness among the branches in the industry, should have sole jurisdiction over the disputed trades, and at the present time the United Mine Workers are practically working on this principle.(1)

The Western Federation of Miners(2) was organized May 15th, 1893, in Butte, Montana, with forty-two delegates representing fifteen unions as members. The convention elected officers and adopted a preamble protesting against the action of the Mine Operators' Associations in the Coeur d'Alenes struggle of 1892 and 1893. Soon after the inaug-

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(1) Report of Proceedings, 1900, American Federation of Labor, p. 192.

The membership reported at the annual conventions since 1894 have been as follows: for 1897, 9,731; 1898, 32,902; 1899, 61,887; 1900, 115,521; 1901, 198,024; 1902, 175,367; 1903, 247,240.

- See Report of Proceedings United Mine Workers, 1901, p. 61; 1902, p.61; 1903, p.61; 1904, p.49.

(2) The published documents have been supplemented by interviews with the general-secretary-treasurer.

gration of the new movement, the men employed in the Cripple Creek fields demanded a minimum wage of three dollars for an eight-hour day. After four months the strike of 1894 resulted in a victory for the unions. Successive strikes occurred in 1896 and 1897 at Leadville, in 1899 in the Coeur d'Alene mining district, and in 1901, at Rossland and Fernie, British Columbia, and also in the San Juan District of Colorado.

The greatest strike of the Western Federation of Miners, however, began in 1903 at Colorado City, where the Mill and Smeltermen's Union, No. 125, struck for better working conditions.(1) Following out the idea of sympathetic help, the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners decided on March 16, "to notify all men working on properties supplying ore to the Standard Mill in Colorado City to discontinue work."(2) Several months later when the strike was extended the miners in the Cripple Creek region responded almost unanimously, and the great

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(1) The Western Federation of Miners in common with the advocates of the industrial union believes the most effective organization to be one that includes every worker in the industry regardless of his degree of skill or standard of living. Thus, Article I., Section 2, of the Constitution declares - "The objects of this organization shall be to unite the various persons working in and around the mines, mills and smelters into one central body, etc."

(2) Report of the president, 10th Annual Convention, 1903, Western Federation of Miners.

sympathetic strike followed.

One of the chief causes underlying this conflict was the effort to establish the eight hour day in the smelter works of Colorado. In 1899, the legislature had passed an eight-hour law which was later declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the State. In November, 1902, an amendment to the Constitution was passed by a majority of over 46,000 votes, but the General Assembly, which had thus received a direct command to establish the eight-hour day by law, adjourned without taking any action on the measure. Much of the subsequent disorder, personal injury and even bloodshed in the Cripple Creek region during 1903-04, are traceable to this failure on the part of the Legislature to enact an eight-hour law.(1)

United Brotherhood of Railway Employes(2)

Early in 1900, a relief department was established on the Pacific railway lines, similar to the departments on the Pennsylvania and Baltimore and Ohio railroads, which required each employe to pay a monthly allowance. The or-

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(1) For a graphic account of the incidents connected with the recent Colorado situation, see McClure's Magazine, May 1904. Baker, The Reign of Lawlessness. - See also the Statement of the Western Federation of Miners in the In re Moyer case, and also in reply to the document introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Scott. See also Report of the Commissioner

(2) The ... secretary is authority for several statements ...

ganized employes objected to certain features of the system and called meetings of their executive boards to send an appeal to the general officers of the company. In April, 1900, fifty-five delegates assembled at San Francisco, formed a committee with Mr. Geo. Estes as chairman, and presented their claims to the officials of the railroad. As a result of this conference, Mr. Collis P. Huntington decided that the relief department should be given up. The withdrawal of the relief department, coupled with the failure of a trade strike declared in December, 1900, by the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, is largely responsible for the formation of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes as an industrial union.

In January, 1901, eight railroad men, an engineer, a conductor, a fireman, a brakesman, a bridge carpenter, a section foreman, a machinist, and a trainmaster and station agent, met at Roseburg, Oregon, and adopted a provisional constitution to govern a contemplated union of all men engaged in the railway service. On January 27, 1901, a mass-meeting of railroad men was held and Roseburg Division, No. 1, the first lodge of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, was organized.

By a coincidence two other organizations with the

same general structure and purpose, arose almost simultaneously,- the Employes' Amalgamated Association of San Francisco, and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes formed at Winnipeg, Manitoba.(1)

The San Francisco and Winnipeg unions a little later joined the order instituted at Roseburg, and adopted the general title of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, since each had the one design of bringing all railroad men under a single government, and of protecting them by means of sick, accident, funeral, disability and death benefits.

In 1902 the Order applied for membership in the American Federation of Labor, but owing to the industrial character of the union, and the rivalry certain to result between it and the railway brotherhoods organized according to trades, the Federation refused to issue a charter.(2)

The United Brotherhood then joined the American Labor Union which favored industrial unions, and became one of three national organizations affiliated with that federation.

In March, 1905, the United Brotherhood consisted of

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(1) The Roseburg and Winnipeg associations bore the same name.
(2) Record of Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1902, p. 57.

sixty-eight divisions located in Oregon, California, Nevada, Montana, Colorado, Texas, Minnesota, Louisiana, North Dakota, Kansas, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Manitoba, Arizona, Washington, Arkansas, Indiana, and New Mexico.(1)

General Industrial Convention -

A conference of about twenty-five industrial unionists was held in Chicago, January 2, 3, 4, 1905, for the purpose of advancing the industrial union movement. The manifesto addressed to all unionists, and calling a convention to meet in Chicago, June 27, 1905, set forth in part the following principles: "Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible. Union men scab upon union men, hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists. Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot-box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory." A satisfactory movement must therefore consist of "one great industrial union embracing all industries - providing for craft autonomy locally, in-

(1) Voice of Labor, March, 1905, pp. 23-24.

dustrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally. All power should rest with the collective membership, and a central defense fund to which each member contributes, should be a principal feature."

The manifesto further declares, "All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago, the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto." Among the signers prominent in the radical labor movement of the present time, are Eugene V. Debs, Daniel McDonald, president of the American Labor Union, Wm. F. Trautman, editor of the Brauer Zeitung, Clarence Smith, secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union, Chas. H. Moyer and Wm. D. Haywood, president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the Western Federation of Miners, Geo. Estes, and Wm. L. Hall, president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, and Chas. O. Sherman, general secretary of the United Metal Workers, etc.[1] From the present outlook, April, 1905, the meeting will prove a stepping-stone to closer union among that rapidly increasing class of labor leaders who favor the indus-

(1) The Voice of Labor, March, 1905, pp. 3-5.

trial form of organization in preference to the pure trade union.

(Note)

American Railway Union -

In certain ways the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes already mentioned, is a successor to the American Railway Union of 1893-1897.

Soon after the disbanding of the Supreme Council of the United Orders of Railway Employes in June, 1892, (1) Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute, undertook to organize the railway employed according to an entirely different plan. All branches were to be gathered under one government, with one set of officers and one official headquarters. A manifesto was issued setting forth that "There will be one supreme law of the Order, with provisions for all classes, one roof to shelter all, each separate and yet all united when unity of action is required. In this is seen the federation of all classes which is feasible, instead of the federation of organizations which has proved to be utterly impracticable."

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(1) - See Chapter, History and Structure of Related Trade Federations.

In June, 1893, one year after the dissolution of the railway federation, the American Railway Union was formed with Eugene V. Debs president, George W. Howard vice-president, and Sylvester Keliher secretary. (1) The founder proposed to establish a department of education, a department of insurance, and a department for the promotion of legislation in the interest of labor. (2)

The Order had first a board of directors, consisting of nine members and local representatives, who supervised the general activity of the organization. To carry on the work more effectively, committees of three members each were selected, with the titles,- literature, mediation, insurance, employment, and finance. All railway employes were eligible to membership except the following, general yardmasters, train-masters, road-masters, supervisors of bridges or buildings, superintendent of telegraph, master mechanics, general or commercial agents, and division superintendents of transportation, etc. The union grew

(1) The following notice appeared in the Journal of the Knights of Labor, August 24, 1893: "A mass meeting of railroad men was held at Central Turner Hall, St. Louis, Mo., on Friday night last, for the purpose of organizing the American Railway Union. Eugene V. Debs, editor of the Fireman's Magazine and George Howard, Ex. Grand Chief of the Conductors' Association addressed the meeting. This is an entirely new railroad order, is not a secret organization, and includes all classes of railway employes separately organized, yet all in one harmonious Alliance within one great brotherhood. A permanent organization was effected

rapidly, and gave every indication of an important future when it entered upon a sympathetic strike in support of the Pullman employes, June, 1894.(1) The circumstances arising out of this strike led to the downfall of the American Railway Union a short time thereafter. A faint sign of activity was displayed in 1896 when the American Railway Union indorsed the Democratic candidate for the presidency and the Board of Directors made a special appeal to all members.

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with over 100 charter members -"
Journal of the Knights of Labor, Aug. 24, 1893, p.1.

(2) Industrial Evolution of the United States - Wright, pp. 261-262.

(1) Industrial Evolution of the United States - Wright, pp. 313-317.

The unit in the structure of industrial unions is the local union organized according to craft in some instances and along industrial lines in others. The United Brewery Workmen, for example, provide for separate trade locals of breweries, beer drivers, etc., while the United Mine Workers favor mixed locals, or locals composed of members following different trades. "Local unions shall be composed of miners, mine laborers, and other workmen, skilled and unskilled, working in and about the mines, except mine manager and top boss." (1) A provision illustrating the craft form of organization and also the industrial form to some extent is found in the Constitution of the Western Federation of Miners. "All men working in or about a mine desiring membership in a union shall join the organization representing their particular craft." In case there is no trade local nearby, they may join any union. "Where there is an engineers' union, •••• engineers, firemen, pumpmen, and machinists shall become members thereof, and where there is no organization of blacksmiths they shall become members of the miners' union. Wherever there is a union of blacksmiths ••• the blacksmiths and blacksmiths' helpers

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(1) United Mine Workers Constitution, 1903, Art. XIV., Sec. 1.

shall become members thereof."(1)

Though it is the policy of industrial unions to defend industrial autonomy as against trade autonomy, there is a tendency to follow the example of national trade unions in granting to each local union power to legislate freely on all matters affecting the craft alone. Where craft lines are not recognized as in the United Mine Workers, local autonomy or home rule is likewise given provided the legislation does not conflict with the National, District and Sub-District Constitutions.(2)

Between the local and the national in some instances is the district organization which includes the different locals in a certain division. In the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes the district is established according to railway systems, for example, the Rock Island System, or the Union Pacific System. Since trade lines are largely observed by the Brotherhood, each district is composed of trade locals representing the different departments of the railway service, such as engineers, conductors, switchmen,

(1) Western Federation of Miners, Constitution, 1903, Art. VI., Sec. 1.
(2) United Mine Workers' Constitution, District No. 2, 1904, Art. IX., Sec. 2.

machinists, etc.[1] The United Mine Workers form districts in "such number and territory as may be assigned them by the national officers, and shall be subject to the jurisdiction, law, rules, and usage of the National Union."[2] These districts are known as District No. 1, District No. 2, etc., and are playing an important part in the present activity of the union. Regular conventions are held, and district officers elected whose duties in the district correspond largely to the duties of national officers. To make the work of organization more thorough, sub-districts are formed at the discretion of the district. For example, District No. 2, United Mine Workers, in 1904, had nine sub-districts covering the territory under the jurisdiction of the District.[3]

The General Convention -

Industrial unions at the present time do not attach much importance to the annual or biennial convention. The necessity for frequent conventions is reduced by the in-

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(1) United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, 1904, Art. II. Sec. 4.
(2) Constitution W.U.M.W.W. 1903, Art. XII., Sec. 1.
(3) Const. District No. 2, U.M.W., Art. VI., Sec. 3.

creasing administrative and judicial power assigned to the general executive board on the one hand, and the more general use of the initiative and referendum in legislation on the other. Consequently, we find the United Brewery Workmen, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen (1) holding biennial conventions. Although an annual convention is held by the Western Federation of Miners, its importance is comparatively small partly on account of the power exercised by the general executive board, and partly because the initiative and referendum governs all legislation. (2) Again, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes declares that the General Division, corresponding to the convention "may consider and recommend to the collective membership

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(1) In some respects the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmens' Union is approaching the form of an industrial union, comprising as it does, all persons working in slaughtering and packing establishments, except Superintendents, Foremen, Book-keepers, Office Clerks, Salesmen for Wholesale Houses and Time-keepers' Constitution, 1901, Art. I., Sec. 1.

(2) Constitution, Western Federation of Miners, 1903, Art. IX., Sec. 1. The Amalgamated Woodworkers, also bearing a partial resemblance to the industrial union in the sense here used,- namely, amalgamation of local unions representing separate and distinct trades in one industry, have the following provision with regard to their convention. "Any local union of two years' standing may propose to hold a convention of the amalgamated union. The proposition shall be published in the official paper of the union and if supported within six weeks by eight other locals it shall be

fer referendum vote any policy, plans or laws which it may deem advisable, and may nominate candidates for the office of president to be voted upon by the collective membership in the same manner as if nominated by the concurrent resolutions of five or more divisions.(1) Again, "all legislative power is vested in the collective membership and a majority of voting members may at any time repeal, amend or enact laws.(2) An entirely different system adopted by the Inter-

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submitted to a referendum vote. If a majority of unions and two-thirds of the membership voting thereon favor the proposition a general convention shall be held at such time and place as a majority of the members may designate." Art. I., Sec. 4, Constitution, 1900.

Constitution B.R.E. 1904 Art IV Sec. 1

(1)The United Brotherhood of Railway Employes represents a highly developed type of union. It is organized along the lines of the federal government. To each railroad system (as the Rock Island, etc.) there are a certain number of local divisions which make laws according to local conditions. Each department of the railway service, as the engineers, conductors, etc., has its representative in the local lodge which forms the executive board of the division. The local divisions, including all in a given locality, through their representatives compose the General Division.

(2) Constitution, U.P.R.E. 1904, Art. I., Sec. 1.
Contrast this provision with the corresponding one in the Constitution of 1902, before the change was made. "The General Division is the congress or highest law-making body of the Brotherhood. It is vested with absolute and exclusive legislative power over all divisions which are now in existence, or which may hereafter be instituted, etc."
United Brotherhood of Railway Employes' Constitution, 1902, Art. III., Sec. 1.

national Longshoremen, Marine, and Transport Workers' Association which meets in annual session, gives "full and final jurisdiction over all locals" to the convention, and constitutes it the "ultimate tribunal to which all matters of general importance **** shall be referred for adjustment."(1)

Representation to the General Assembly or Convention -

The basis of representation varies in the different unions. The United Brewery Workmen, the Western Federation of Miners, and the United Mine Workers, however, have somewhat similar provisions. For every one hundred members or less each local union is entitled to one vote in the convention, but no delegate may cast more than three votes in the convention of the Brewery Workmen,(2) nor more than five votes in that of the Western Federation of Miners, and the United Mine Workers, respectively. A different system is used by the International Longshoremen. Each local sends two delegates who may vote as follows, for one hundred mem-

(1) Constitution, Int. L. M. and T. A., 1904, Art., Art. III., Sec. 1.
(2) No local union is entitled to more than three delegates. United Brewery Workmen, Constitution, 1904, Art. VIII, Sec. 4.

bers or less, 1 vote, 100 or less than 300, 2 votes; 300 or less than 600, 3 votes; 600 or less than 1000, 4 votes; 1000 or less than 2000, 5 votes, 2000 or less than 4,000, 6 votes.(1) Finally, the General Division of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes comprises the president, vice-presidents, general secretary-treasurer, "all members of the general executive board, and one delegate from each division."(2)

The General Executive Board -

The executive board of industrial unions consists of the various elective officers and certain other representatives chosen either by the general convention or by referendum vote of the membership. Where large interests are held by separate trades, as in the Brewery Workmen and the Railway Brotherhoods, each trade in the industry has a proportional representation on the executive board.(3) The Bro-

(1) Constitution, 1904, Art. XIII., Sec. 1.
(2) " U.B.R.E., 1904, Art. IV., Sec. 1.
(3) The executive board of the United Mine Workers in addition to the national officers includes one member from each district. The president in his report to the 14th annual convention said:

"The present constitution provides that the national executive board shall be composed of one member from each district, who shall be elected by the district organization .... I desire to call attention to the fact that under the

ery Workmen have a board of thirteen members consisting of four brewers, four beer drivers, one maltster, two beer-bottlers, one brewery engineer, one brewery fireman, six of whom are nominated at the biennial convention and elected by popular vote,(1) and seven who live at the place of headquarters are elected annually in a general or special convention by the Unions entitled to representation on the

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present law a district having 1,000 members will have the same voting power or the national board as will a district having 50,000 members, and inasmuch as twelve members will constitute a majority of the national board and as there are now twelve districts whose combined membership is less than 40,000 it follows that the votes of these twelve districts when cast by their representatives on the national board, will carry any motion or policy, notwithstanding the fact that the remainder of the board who represent districts having a membership of nearly 200,000, may cast their votes in opposition." Annual Convention 13th United Mine Workers of America, 1902, President's Report, p.43.

In the Convention of 1903, President Mitchell repeated his objection to the present structure of the National Executive Board, and succeeded in getting an amendment to the constitution providing that each member of the executive board instead of one vote shall have "one additional vote for every 5,000 members in good standing they represent or a majority fraction thereof,"- this system of voting to be used whenever a general strike is contemplated.

(1) Constitution, 1904, Art. V., Secs. 1 and 2.

board.[1] Again, the Brotherhood of Railway Employes includes in its executive board, the president, general secretary-treasurer, and one representative from each of the fifteen railway departments, all of whom except the general secretary-treasurer are elected by referendum for a term of two years.[2][3]

For the practical work of industrial unions the real power as in the case of most trade unions is vested in their general executive board. Owing to the characteristic structure of the industrial union, however, certain distinctive powers are exercised, principally in such typical fields as (a) jurisdiction disputes, (b) strikes, (c) agreements.

One of the chief aims of industrial unions is to get rid of jurisdiction disputes, by removing the often uncertain boundaries of separate trades and joining all trades in a given industry under a common supervision. In most instances, the power to settle any differences that may arise within the union is lodged in the executive board.

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(1) Constitution, 1904, Art. VII., Sec. 10.
(2) The Secretary-treasurer is elected by the General Division for a term of two years.
(3) Constitution, 1904, Art. II., Secs. 1 and 2.

Whenever local disputes between branches arise liberty is usually given the local bodies at first to settle the differences in their own way. Failure to adjust the trouble results in an appeal to the general executive board whose decision is binding on both parties, subject to a further appeal to the next annual convention.

There are certain elements inherent in the structure of industrial unions which serve to strengthen the power of the executive board in jurisdiction decisions. Under a non centralized alliance like the American Federation of Labor, or even under the allied trades' council, the power of enforcement is not so great as under an autonomous industrial union like the United Brewery Workmen or the United Mine Workers. In the voluntary federation of trades to disregard the decisions rendered by the executive board means at the most temporary suspension or expulsion,- to the stronger unions a mild form of punishment; (1) while in the industrial union such discipline proves extremely severe on the locals, since each branch of the industry depends large

(1) For instance, suspension from the American Federation probably leads to affiliation with a rival federation, such as the American Labor Union, as actually occurred in the case of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; and a similar act by the International Building Trades' Council is an invitation to join the Structural Building Trades' Alliance, etc.

ly upon the one national organization to gain favorable trade conditions, and to distribute benefits from the central defence fund in protracted strikes.(1)

Power of the Executive Board over Strikes -

A strike by an industrial union differs from the ordinary trade strike in that it involves all men working in a given industry, and brings thereby greater pressure to bear upon the employer. It is this fact that gives greater prominence to the general executive board whose exercise of the power conferred ~~upon it~~ by the Constitution establishes it as the controlling factor in strikes. Usually, a local grievance is left to the local executive board until a general strike is threatened, when the national executive board decides whether a strike shall or shall not be declared. The United Mine Workers, for example, permit their district officers to whom a complaint has been refer-

(1) This dependence on the central organization acts likewise as a preventative check to jurisdictional disputes. Where trades are organized separately, the national officers are jealous of the activities of every other trade, but where the central administration covers an industry instead of a trade, the likelihood of internal dispute over jurisdiction is lessened.

red to order a strike whenever they deem it advisable to do so. If an appeal is taken from the decision of the district officers, the national executive board takes the matter in hand. Any local union striking without the approval of the district or national executive board receives no assistance from the national officers.(1) If the matter is of great importance or affects the interests of any other district, the national president renders a decision which is subject to the approval of the general executive board.(2)

The general executive board is also empowered in some cases to call a general strike of all union men in the industry. The United Mine Workers give to their national executive board "power to order a general strike or suspension by a two-thirds vote at any time during the year that they deem necessary, provided that all district presidents vice-presidents and secretaries be called into joint conference for consideration before any general strike or suspension order be issued.(3) Likewise the Western Federation of Miners declares "In case of a strike being in progress

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(1) Constitution, United Mine Workers, 1903, Art. X., Sec. 1.
(2) Ibid., Sec. 2.
(3) Ibid., 1903, Art.II., Sec. 6.

in the jurisdiction of the Federation, where a union of the Federation is on strike, regularly ordered by the union and the executive board, and in the opinion of the president and the executive board it becomes necessary to call out any other union or unions in order to carry the strike to a successful termination that they shall have full power to do so."(1)

Once the strike is inaugurated, the general executive board has the chief control over payment of strike benefits. In the United Brewery Workmen, the amount of strike benefit paid by the international union is fixed by the international executive board according to the amount in the treasury and the number of members on strike. In other cases a defense fund is established, as in the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes,(2) and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. The latter organization forms a strike fund from a per capita tax of ten cents per month per member, and members out on strikes duly authorized, receive $5.00 per week after the first week. The general ex-

(1) Const. W.U. of M. (1903). Art. V., Sec. 2.
(2) The United Brotherhood in common with the other national unions in the American Labor Union entrusts its defense fund to the general federation for the purpose of conducting and supporting strikes in the different branches. - See American Labor Union Constitution, 1903, under Strike Fund.

ecutive board in this instance is merely an administrative body.

A different system of strike expenditure favored for example by the Western Federation of Miners leaves the strike benefits to local determination. Each local appoints a relief committee which meets with the district union comprising delegates from the locals, and this joint committee fixes the amount of strike benefit. Whenever an emergency arises, the general executive board may declare an assessment sufficient to meet necessary demands.(1)

Besides the power usually given the executive board to authorize strikes and to control the defense fund, this committee may also declare a strike off in so far as the national union is concerned whenever general conditions make the step advisable. The local union of course may continue the strike on its own responsibility while its treasury holds out, but it may expect no further aid from the national officials.

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(1) Constitution, Western Federation of Miners, 1903, Art. IV., Sec. 1.

Power of the Executive Board in Agreements -

Agreements made by industrial unions are different from the ordinary trade agreement in that they cover all branches in the industry and bind all trades represented for the same length of time. Thus a grievance of the maltsters in the brewery becomes a grievance of the other trades to the agreement as well, and a strike resulting from a refusal on the part of employes to satisfy the union involves all workers in the brewery. Under a system of trade union agreements expiring at different times, the engineers and firemen at work in the brewery would remain at work while their fellow craftsmen, the maltsters were on strike.

In common with the general policy of national trade unions, however, the industrial union ordinarily does not incorporate in the national constitution rules for the adjustment of working conditions, since the local union is permitted to deal exclusively with its own trade affairs. When regulations do appear in the national constitution they are ~~usually~~ for the most part general in character. The United Brewery Workmen, for example, require all unions "to submit their contracts to the joint executive board, (1) and the interna-

(1) A representative body composed of delegates from local unions in one locality. - See Constitution United Brewery

tional executive board for endorsement before they are submitted to the proprietors."(1) Again, "all local unions are obliged, and it is the duty of the international executive board to strictly observe the rule that when making new contracts at least those minimum wages and such maximem working hours as decided by the conventions, be demanded and enforced, also it is compulsory to provide in every contract for the lay-off system,(2) in order to avoid idleness of members in dull business times. Furthermore, it shall be obligatory to insert the arbitration clause in all contracts".(3)

An extension of the agreement to districts in which uniform wage scales, hours, etc. are established, takes place in the coal industry of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and western Pennsylvania. Annual conferences are held between the United Mine Workers and coal operator, and agreements are entered into binding on all engaged in the industry.(4)

An exception to the general encouragement of agreements by industrial unions is the attitude of the Western

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workmen, 1904, Art. IV.
(1) Const. United Brewery Workmen, 1904, Art. XI., Sec. 1.
(2) - See under Functions of Industrial Unions.
(3) Constitution United Brewery Workmen, 1904, Art. XI., Sec. 14.
(4) The general executive board is the National Board of conciliation and arbitration. Const. U.M.W., Art. II.

federation of Miners. This organization does not favor contracts with employers which bind the workmen for any length of time. The only agreement favored is the temporary one made by the union on entering the employ of a mine owner. The idea seems to be to avoid written agreements as far as possible, so that at any time if conditions are unsatisfactory a general strike may be called. Here again the power of the executive board is prominent. "Any contract or agreement entered into between the members of any local union and their employers as a final settlement of any difficulty or trouble that may arise between them shall not be considered valid or binding until the same shall have the approval of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners."(1)

Limitations on the Executive Board -

Where the constitution does not expressly limit the power of the executive board, considerable latitude is given in the exercise of authority. This committee practically stands for the convention when the latter is not in session and directs to a large extent the affairs of the national organization. In questions of wide interest, how-

(1) Constitution, W.F. of M., 1903, Art. V., Sec. 3.

ever, the initiative and referendum is an important check on arbitrary action by the board. Usually a popular vote must be taken whenever a certain proportion of local unions demand it. Thus in the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen a popular vote on any question can be ordered "when such is demanded by a local union in good standing, and such demand supported by one-eighth of all local unions."(1) Since considerable delay is necessary in any such referendum vote, the immediate check on the executive board by this method is comparatively slight. A more effective check perhaps is the direct responsibility of the board to the annual convention or, wherever the election of officials is carried on through the referendum, to the general membership. When tenure of office depends on the satisfaction given the members by their national officers misuse of power will not long be tolerated.(2)

The President of Industrial Unions -

The office of president in an industrial union is a difficult one to fill owing to the various trades and va-

(1) Constitution, I.U.U.B.W., 1904, Art. XIV., Sec. 1 b.
(2) - See General discusion of Limitations on President and officials.

rious standards of workmanship represented in the industry. One weakness lies in the seeming inability to obtain an executive officer who is fairly representative of all departments. This condition is reflected in the structure of the United Brewery Workmen which has no official head and grants to the international executive board the powers usually delegated to a president.(1) The chief powers of the national presidents in the remaining industrial unions may be included under the following heads, (a) appointing power, and power of suspension, (b) general supervisory powers, (c)control over strikes. (a) The national president of the United Mine Workers has power with the consent of the executive board to fill by appointment all vacancies occurring in the national offices and also to suspend any national officer for insubordination or other just cause. He has the right to appoint organizers who are usually selected from members of the national executive board whenever conditions in the union require their services.(2) This power to remove any member of the executive board and the dependence of the members for appointment as organizers upon him greatly in-

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(1) Another important consideration in this case is the prevalence of socialistic ideas among the brewery workers. In theory even the national secretaries and the editor of the Brauer Zeitung are on an equality.

(2) Constitution, United Mine Workers, 1903, Art. II., Sec. 2.

crease the authority of the president in the administration of affairs. Again, the president of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes may suspend any of the elected vice-presidents for cause pending action of the executive board. He may appoint district vice-presidents, and organizers, prescribe their districts and may dismiss them for cause.(1)

(b) Besides the appointing power, and power of removal, the presidents of industrial unions are given general supervision over the organizations. Thus the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association declares that he shall have general superintendence over the locals and enforce all laws of the general convention.(2) Sometimes more specific powers are stated, as "The president has power to visit any local union and inspect its proceedings either personally or by deputy and require a compliance with the laws, rules, and usages of this organization." A local union failing to give the desired information may be fined or suspended.(3) The Western Federation of Miners

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(1) Constitution, U.B.R.E., 1904, Art. III., Sec. 4. Similarly, the Western Federation of Miners authorize the president to fill all vacancies in the national offices with the approval of the executive board and to appoint such organizers as the condition of the alliance may justify. Constitution, 1903, Art. III., sec. 3.
(2) Constitution, 1904, Art. IV., Sec. 3.
(3) Constitution, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, 1903, Art. III., Sec. 2.

requires the national president to visit each district once a year, and visit as many unions as the condition of the federation permits, to examine the books if he has sufficient time to see if each union is bearing its share of the tax burden.(1)

(c) Occasion for prompt and decisive action arises in time of threatened or actual strike. Industrial unions usually make ample provisions for such an emergency by vesting the necessary power to act in the hands of one man or a small body of men. The United Brewery Workmen, and the Western Federation as we have seen place the executive board at the head of affairs. The United Mine Workers and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, on the other hand, vest the supreme authority in strikes with the national president. Before a district decides a question that directly or indirectly affects the interests of the mine workers in other districts, the president and secretary of that district must send a written statement to the national president, "setting forth the grievance complained of, the ac-

(1) Constitution Western Federation of Miners, 1903, Art. III., Sec. 6.

tion contemplated by the district, together with the reasons thereof, and the national president shall, within five days after the receipt of such statement, either approve or disapprove of the action contemplated by the aggrieved district" **** Should the action contemplated *** receive the approval of the national president, the district shall be free to act, but should the national president disapprove the action contemplated, the district may appeal to the national executive board **** Until the national president has approved, or the national executive board has approved or the national executive board has sustained the appeal no district shall be free to enter upon a strike unless it shall have been ordered by a national convention." (1) Likewise, the president of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes approves and conducts strikes declared by a two-thirds majority vote of all members affected, and no strike is legal unless it receives the approval of the national president. (2)

The other elective officials are the vice-president, or vice-presidents in the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, (except in the United Brewery Workmen which has

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(1) Constitution, United Mine Workers, 1903, Art. X., Sec. 2
(2) " United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, 1904, Art. III., Sec. 4.

neither president nor vice-president); the secretary-treasurer; and in the Brewery Workmen, a corresponding secretary and a financial recording secretary. The vice-president assists the president in the discharge of his duties and sometimes acts as a general organizer for the union. The secretary-treasurer keeps a report of the convention proceedings, submits a complete statement of the receipts and disbursements to the convention, and attends to all correspondence of the central office. He is usually required to give a bond for the faithful discharge of his duties ranging from $30,000 in the Western Federation of Miners to $2500 in the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes.(1)

Limitations on the National Officials -

In most industrial unions the executive or judicial acts of the president are subject to the approval of the general executive board which stands as a permanent check to the abuse of power. Where the constitution fails to make an definite provision of this character and the individual officials are free to act on their own responsibility, oth-

(1) The United Mine Workers require a bond of $25,000, while the United Brewery Workmen one of $5,000.

er effective checks are present. For instance, the Constitution of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes declares that the general executive board "has power to enforce its decisions by dismissing officers except in the case of the president who may be suspended by the board for cause, subject to appeal to the General Division or collective membership."(1) Again, five or more divisions may at any time recommend the dismissal of the president or general secretary, and a referendum vote on the proposition may be taken within two months.(2) Similarly, the United Brewery Workmen provide that, in case any of the international officers, including the editor of the Brauer Zeitung,(3) "fail to perform their duties or become guilty of dishonest transactions, they can at any time be suspended or removed from office by the international executive board, but they shall have the right to appeal to the next convention, or demand a popular vote on the subject."(4)

Thus, behind the executive board are in turn the con-

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(1) Constitution, 1904, Art. II., Sec. 14.
(2) Ibid., Art. I., Sec. 2.
(3) The Official Journal of the United Brewery Workmen.
(4) Constitution, United Brewery Workmen, 1904, Art. V., Sec. 16.

Note. - Any local of the Longshoremens' Union may prefer charges against any elective officer of the Association for violation of the Constitution or Laws. The executive council is empowered to try all such cases.
Const. 1904, Art. IX.

eral convention and the collective membership, both of whom exert a conservative influence over the national officials. Where less stress is placed on the annual or biennial convention, and the tendency of industrial unions seems to be in this direction, the officers are held directly responsible to the collective membership. The United Mine Workers before 1902, for example, elected their officers at the annual convention, and the delegates came prepared to vote for candidates who had been decided upon in advance by the constituent unions.(1) In 1902, the initiative and referendum system for electing national officers was introduced and has since been used.

Secretaries of local unions forward to the national office not later than eleven weeks(2) before the convention the names of the persons nominated by the locals. If a member has been nominated by three or more local unions he is notified within ten days after the nominations are closed. The names of the candidates who accept the nomination are then sent to the locals not later than seven weeks,(3) and are voted upon not later than twenty days, before the as-

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(1) Constitution, 1899, United Mine Workers, Art. VI., Sec. 1.
(2) Constitution of 1902, stated two months.
(3) " " " " six weeks.

sembling of the annual convention. The returns are forwarded at once to the national secretary-treasurer, canvassed by the national auditors, and reported to the convention. The candidates receiving a majority of votes cast are declared elected, and in case of no election the question is settled by the convention, each delegate to the convention casting a number of votes in proportion to the membership of the local unions he represents. Practically the same plan is followed by the United Brewery Workmen and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes.(1) In the former union, however, the candidates receiving the highest number of votes, or a plurality, are declared elected; and if there is a tie at any time between two candidates another vote is taken;(2) in the United Brotherhood, the vice-president, and the general secretary only are elected by the general division or biennial convention.

The experience of industrial unions with the referendum has been very much the same as the experience of most trade unions, namely, that unless a special question in

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(1) The Western Federation of Miners, the Longshoremen, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen have not as yet adopted the initiative and referendum in elections.

(2) Constitution, 1904, Art. VII., Sec. 3.

which the members are largely interested becomes the issue, a considerable percentage of the voting strength is never recorded. Thus, officers may be elected or certain laws enacted by the votes of a comparatively limited portion of the membership. To make the referendum vote more representative the United Brewery Workmen impose a fine of $1.00 on every member who neglects to participate in the election of officers.(1)

Revenues -

The principal sources of revenue in the industrial unions are a per capita tax, a charter fee, and under certain conditions special assessment. A per capita tax is imposed on all locals by the national office, ranging from twenty-five cents per month for every member in the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen to ten cents a month for each member in the United Mine Workers,(2) and five cents in the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association.(3)

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(1) Const., 1904, United Brewery Workmen, Art.VII., Sec.5.
(2) The United Brewery Workmen do not permit the local unions to levy any dues under fifty cents per member, and the United Mine Workers place the minimum local dues at twenty-five cents for each member.
(3) The Western Federation of Miners derives its revenue from an annual per capita of $2.00 for each member and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes from a monthly assessment of 20 2/3 cents.

Charter fees vary in amount from $25.00 in the Western Federation of Miners, to $10.00 in the United Brewery Workmen, and the Longshoremen's Association. With the charter are sent seals, stamps, and other supplies used by local unions. In addition to these regular assessments, special amounts are levied from time to time by the national executive board, payable from the general fund of the local union and based on the monthly or quarterly report just preceding the assessment.

UNITED MINE WORKERS.

Revenue -

| | 1900 | 1901 | 1902 | 1903 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Per capita tax | $138,625.28 | $237,629.51 | $210,438.19 | $267,933.73 |
| Supplies | 12,294.48 | 10,062.50 | 8,974.20 | 18,521.50 |
| Journal | 7,188.61 | 8,070.25 | 9,800,05 | 9,837.52 |
| Assessment | 173,679.40 | 39,885.86 | 2,779,975.56 | 258,351.64 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,220.52 | 3,735.87 | 1,688.90 | 40,380.96 |
| Defense | | | | 57,646.51 |
| | $333,945.27 | 299,383.99 | 3,010,877.82 | 652,671.86 |

986.93

UNITED MINE WORKERS -

Expenditures -

| | 1900 | 1901 | 1902 | 1903 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Salaries and expenses of organizers, | $ 62,622.91 | $ 79,478.33 | $109,017.70 | $158,146.76 |
| Supplies | 12,387.96 | 6,495.95 | 11,075.35 | 1,721.43 |
| Office | 1,297.38 | 1,588.13 | 3,022.84 | 3,173.36 |
| Journal | ---------- | 9,301.77 | 6,845.79 | 7,830.38 |
| Telegrams and Postage. | 3,546.21 | 3,505.61 | 5,738.07 | 5,641.80 |
| Donations | 154,676.82 | 202,926.07 | 1,890,201.53 | 308,780.44 |
| Miscellaneous | 10,484.81 | 26,847.65 | ---------- | 72,806.80 |
| | $245,516.09 | 330,143.51 | 2,080,805.44 | 573,893.47 |

UNITED BREWERY WORKMEN.

Revenue -

| 1900 | 1901 | 1902 |
|---|---|---|
| $ 99,378.49 | $ 115,134.96 | $360,858.93 |

Expenditures -

| 1900 | 1901 | 1902 |
|---|---|---|
| $ 52,541.55 | $ 54,535.26 | $ 292,652.94 |

These figures are taken from the reports of the national secretaries to the annual conventions.

## Chapter VII.

## FUNCTIONS OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

The occasion for the rise of Industrial Unions, as we have seen, has been the close relation existing among workers in a single industry. In the building industry, for example, the bricklayer and the carpenter have certain interests in common but at the same time have sufficient independent interests to warrant separate national organizations. On the other hand, in certain other industries where numerous subdivisions of labor exist, notably in the boot and shoe industry and the wood working industry, there is so little differentiation among the separate parts, and such close dependence of one operative upon the other that separate national organizations are inadvisable. If the lasters, the cutters, the sewers, etc., in the boot and shoe industry each had a separate national organization a hopeless confusion would result. At the present time this amalgamation occurs in several of the most prominent industries such as Garment Working, Wood Working, Textile[1], and Iron Industries.

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(1) An early effort to bring closely associated lines of work under one central authority is shown by the following recommendation.

"Whereas there is a movement on foot to amalgamate the Textile Organizations of these United States, namely: "The National Union of Textile Workers of America, "The National

In the present study, however, attention is centered not upon the form of national union which includes those workers following essentially the same line of work, but upon those industrial unions comprising in one national organization members of different and distinct trades.

Prominent among such industrial unions are the Brewery Workers, the Mine Workers, the Western Federation of Miners, the Longshoremen, the Railway Employes, and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

In order to perform certain functions more efficiently industrial unions in certain industries have superseded trade unions. The introduction of new machinery made the sharp distinctions formerly observed between trades so longer important. A man working in one trade jurisdiction at a given time might in the course of a year through an invention find himself in a different trade and under different jurisdiction. An example of the general tendency re-

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Mule Spinners' Association," "The Weavers' Association," "The Loom Fixers' Association and the "Carders' Association", and whereas believing it to be the best interest of the organizations therein named and to organized labor generally for them to federate and affiliate with the A.F.of L., therefore, be it Resolved, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to use their influence to help in bringing about an amalgamation of the Textile Organizations in the United States." American Federation Labor, Annual Convention, 1888, p.109.

ferred to may be found in the brewing industry. In August, 1886, the national Union of Journeymen Brewers, comprising only skilled brewers was formed. It was at once found that in case of a strike the union was powerless to accomplish results on account of the other trades represented in the brewery. Accordingly, a charter dated March 4, 1887, declared the name of the union to be the National Union of United Brewery Workmen of the United States, for the purpose of a "more perfect federation of all trades and labor unions."(1) At the first convention of the United Brewery Workmen, delegates were present not only from the brewers, but from the beer drivers, maltsters, brewery engineers and brewery firemen as well. It was decided to amalgamate all brewery workers under one national head and at the same time to guarantee trade autonomy in all local affairs to the several branches.

The introduction of the ice machine was largely responsible for this development in structure, since the character of the industry was entirely changed thereby. The large storage houses, formerly a feature, were supplanted by mechanical departments such as boiler houses, engines, etc. Now many old brewers became practically ice machine engineers as well, and beer drivers, likewise, were also brewers

(1) Charter issued to N.B.W. by A.F. of L., 1887.

for a part of the day. Gradually the manufacturing plants grew large enough for each department or branch to remain with the same set of employes or working force through a large part of the season.

These permanent subdivisions separated more completely the different trades, but did not remove al - together the capacity of one branch to perform in an emergency the work of the other. Thus, in case the brewers went on strike enough men could be found in the brewery to take the place of the strikers temporarily and make the strike ineffective. The best solution to the problem, therefore, seemed to be one organization with one set of national officers.

Other industries are undergoing a similar development, notably in the increasing proportion of unskilled workmen to skilled artisans. Machinery has reduced operations to such a routine that grades of skill are gradually disappearing, and in an emergency the less skilled workmen may be used in place of the more highly skilled. For instance in the mining industry with its skilled and unskilled, miners, drivers, runners, oilers, slate pickers, etc., separate organization according to occupation seems hopeless, and the only practicable plan is to organize the

skilled and unskilled alike in one union and under one set of officials.[1] Likewise, the Longshoremen and Marine and Transport Workers, realizing that no permanent good will be accomplished with separate unions, have included in their organization, lumber loaders, unloaders and pilers, mill men and all men employed in lumber yards, coal shovelers, loaders and unloaders, limestone loaders and unloaders, etc.[2]

Another condition favoring the formation of the industrial type in place of the trade-union is the persistence of trade jurisdiction disputes. To illustrate the extent to which these internal conflicts have been carried examples may be taken from the ship-building and the wood working industries respectively. In the ship building industry, old trade lines have been removed and new divisions formed. This evolution produces unfamiliar relations which engender constant friction among the workers. Mr. and Mrs.

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(1) "The central fact of the organization, however, is that a large percentage of these men ultimately become miners or other workers closely related to them. And in view of similarity an interests of the overwhelming majority, an industrial union is formed." Mitchell, Organized Labor, pp. 267-8.

(2) Constitution, 1904, p.1.

Webb in their study, "The Industrial Democracy" say p.609, "We need not write the numberless points at which the craftsmen working on a modern warship or Atlantic liner find each improvement bringing different trades into sharp conflict. The Engineers have on different occasions quarrelled on this score with the Boiler Makers, the Shipwrights, the Joiners, the Brass Workers, the Plumbers and the Tinplate Workers; the Boiler Makers have had their own differences with the Shipwrights, the Smiths and the Chippers and Drillers, etc. ... Hence, an employer bound to complete a job by a given date may find one morning his whole establishment in confusion and the most important sections of his workmen "on strike" not because they object to any of the conditions of employment, but because they fancy that one trade has "encroached" on the work of another."

The other case is that of the Wood- Workers in their attempt to absorb into their union the Box Makers and Sawyers.

The latter organization maintained that box-making is a "separate and distinct trade from that carried on in sash, door, and blind, and furniture factories." The employers are not the same in the two cases and the respective products are not sold to the same class of consumers.

The products of wood workers' factories are sent to building contractors and furniture dealers, while the products of the box factory under the control of the Box Makers and Sawyers go to merchants and manufacturers who use the boxes for shipping purposes. The matter came before the American Federation of Labor at the annual convention of 1897 when the Box Makers and Sawyers' Union of Chicago, organized in 1878, appealed to the Federation for a charter of affiliation.

The representatives of the Woodworkers strongly opposed any recognition on the part of the national federation and claimed sole jurisdiction over this branch of the industry. The convention finally decided to place the problem in the hands of the incoming executive council with the recommendation that the two organizations should amalgamate and form an industrial federation.(1)

In a general way the American Federation of Labor has been more or less associated with the development of industrial unions through the interest displayed in jurisdic-

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(1) American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1897, pp. 108-109. An interesting development of these jurisdictional disputes occurred in 1902 when the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners made a strong fight to revoke the charter of the Woodworkers on the ground of jurisdiction encroachment. A.F.of L. Proceedings, 1902, p. 52.

tion disputes. The dominant policy has been rather to discourage so-called industrialism as an enemy to trade autonomy and national organization along craft lines, but in certain cases exceptions have apparently been made. The Mine Workers, for example, hold undisputed control over the mine blacksmiths and the mine firemen, etc.,[1] while the Brewery Workers have a constant struggle to hold legally the brewery engineers and firemen in their unions. The long jurisdictional struggle between the Brewery Workers, on the one side, and the Steam Engineers, the Stationary Firemen, and the American Federation of Labor, on the other, forms an important chapter in trade jurisdictional history. When the organization of brewery workers received its charter from the American Federation of Labor engineers and firemen were included in the membership. As soon as the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen were organized, they claimed the right to extend their boundaries to the brewing industry. The American Federation of Labor in its endeavor to settle the controversy from time to time has appa-

(1) A.F. of L. Proceedings, 1900, pp. 185-6.

rently followed an inconsistent course. A resolution adopted at the Louisville Convention of 1900, and reaffirmed at the Scranton Convention of 1901, gave jurisdiction over engineers and firemen working in the brewery under certain conditions to the United Brewery Workmen.(1) In April, 1902, the executive council rendered a decision reversing the previous opinion and giving jurisdiction over brewery engineers to the National Union of Steam Engineers, and over firemen to the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen. Notwithstanding this decision, the fight has continued and each side seems determined to claim the disputed trades.(2)

The American Federation of Labor in its attempt to avoid future disputes has adopted a resolution making it compulsory upon a national or international union seeking a charter to "state clearly and define in its laws all the branches of trade over which it claims jurisdiction." If these boundaries interfere with those of any other trade chartered by the American Federation of Labor a charter may

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(1) Convention proceedings, A.F.of L., 1900, p. 187 and 1901, p. 245.

(2) For further information on this subject see, American Federationist, 1902, p.374, and the pamphlet issued by the International Union of United Brewery Workmen and submitted to the 22d convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1902.

not be granted to the Union.[1]

This provision had no effect apparently, and in 1901, President Gompers wrote, "The question of jurisdiction of national unions within the past year has if anything become more intensified, in some instances resulting in open hostilities. It is a most difficult problem to determine where one trade ends and another begins, particularly so in our time when there is an almost constant state of transition of industry. **** Then, again, there is a tendency among too many of our affiliated unions to extend their jurisdiction over branches of trade already organized under another head."[2]

In some instances unions engaged in controversy over trade boundaries show a willingness to submit the questions in dispute to an impartial body, while in many cases the parties directly interested refuse to abide by the decision and insist upon their own narrow interpretation of trade boundaries.[3]

Finally, to remove the injurious features connected with the presence of rival claims, and to establish more friendly relations between trades whose boundaries are continually overlapping, definite agreements are sometimes reach-

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(1) A.F.of L., 1899, p.180. Report of Proceedings.
(2) Ibid., 1901, pp. 18-19.
(3) " " 1903, p. 76

ed. In the absence of such formal agreements between trade unions, the American Federation of Labor and allied trade councils, as we have seen, attempt to settle disputes by arbitrating the differences. The executive boards in the several instances have lacked the necessary power to enforce their decisions, and have consequently failed to lessen the tension between rival unions. The severest penalty at their command is to revoke the charter of that union which refuses to abide by the award.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers illustrates the case in point. Originally an English industrial union comprising pattern-makers, machinists, mill-wrights, brass finishers, coppersmiths, etc., the Amalgamated Society established an American branch and became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Whenever any of the trades represented in the industrial union came in contact with the members of those trades organized into national unions, serious trouble arose. The situation became so acute in 1902 that the executive council of the Federation decided to expel the Amalgamated Society as the only consistent course to follow.[1] Now one of the most important unions

(1) American Labor Union Journal, Vol. II., Nos. 18 and 2. Feb. 4 and Mar. 10, 1904.

having jurisdiction quarrels with the Union was the Machinists' International Union, whose interests came in direct conflict with the Engineers.

In 1904, however, an agreement was reached which enabled the two organizations to work peaceably together. The following extract appearing in a daily paper at the time is self-explanatory. "The proposed agreement between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers which was submitted to a referendum vote recently has been adopted by a very large majority. The total vote cast was 8,643, of which 5,513 voted in favor of the agreement. The Engineers and Machinists will work in accordance with the agreement under such time as the same becomes operative, thus avoiding conflict whenever the two organizations have members in the same city. (1)

The advantages of such a general agreement are manifest. The Machinists are gradually becoming an industrial union embracing several trades. If the parties to the agreement had represented but a single trade on each side, its range of usefulness would necessarily be narrow .

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(1) The agreement is noteworthy as it has been made in the face of a definite failure on the part of the American Federation . Baltimore Sun, Oct. 8, 1904.
- See also Machinists' Journal, Sept.,1904, p. 790.

Aside from this fact, to affect any proportion of the trades in a single locality by this method many conferences and as many agreements must be arranged for. Under the one "Engineers - Machinists' agreement on the contrary several branches and trades reach a definite working basis without unnecessary delay or trouble. A resolution advocating a reformation in trade union organizations was offered at the 1903 convention of the American Federation of Labor, and though defeated, it expressed fairly well a growing sentiment among some trade unionists. "Since the jurisdiction disputes between national and international unions are becoming more acute every year, and since this warfare is the result of the labor organizations having failed to adapt themselves to the economic development, Resolved, That the Twenty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to study the situation and report to the next convention a plan by which the trades-unions can be grouped together on industrial lines."(1) By thus bringing the contending organizations under one national control, the advocates of the plan expected to reduce the friction and gain greater effectiveness thereby.

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(1) American Federation of Labor, Report of Proceedings, 1903, p. 160.

Having traced the general causes leading to the greater efficiency of industrial unions, we are prepared to consider certain typical activities included under the following heads, (a) Organization, (b) Agreements, (c) Union Label, (d) Strikes, (e) Boycott, (f) Political Action, (g) Mutual Insurance. a. Organization. To increase the membership by organizing new locals, paid organizers are appointed who devote all or a part of their time to the interests of the union. A typical section in the constitution reads: "The president with the approval of the executive board shall have power to appoint an organizer wherever and whenever he may find it necessary. Such appointee must be a member in good standing and must be an active member engaged in his particular calling."(1) Again, the executive board reported to the ninth annual convention, Western Federation of Miners: "We believe that organization is the most essential feature to be presented to this convention. Take, for example, the State of Utah, thousands of men employed in the mining industry and not a miners' union within its confines. Therefore, we recommend that an assessment of $1.00 be levied upon each member of

(1) Constitution, International Longshoremen Marine and Transport Workers' Association, 1904, Art. XV., Sec. 1.

the federation at once to place at least five good men in the field as organizers for one year."(1)

There are certain advantages over trade unions claimed for the industrial type in organizing new locals. In such industries as mining or railroading, separate trade organizations would mean separate sets of organizers working independently and under different instructions. On the other hand, an alliance with one set of national officials following one consistent policy would lessen the chances of friction so likely to occur where organizers are working in competition with one another. For instance, the standing of a brewery engineer, a mine blacksmith or a marine and transport worker is uncertain so long as individual trades are organizing separate national unions. But when organization follows the board lines fixed by the industry, confusion is less likely to occur.

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(1) Miners' Magazine, Vol. II., No. 7, p. 16. The organizers of the United Mine Workers are sent into the various unorganized coal fields among workmen speaking various languages. The first duty of the union representative is to become personally acquainted with the stronger spirits among the men. "They stop them on street corners, visit the places in which they are in the habit of congregating, distribute among them tracts containing information about the organization and in various ways plant the idea of unionism in the minds of a few of the men. When he thinks the time opportune, the organizer calls a meeting of those he believes interested in the movement and organizes them into a union." Annals of American Academy, Jan., 1903, Wayne The Miners' Union.

Apart from the greater facility in grouping the various branches according to the industry, economy and efficiency of administration are gained. The United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, for example, provides for fifteen departments of the railway service, namely: engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, switchmen, telegraphers, clerks, freight handlers, machinists, boiler-makers, blacksmiths, shopmen, carmen, bridgmen, and trackmen. There is one General Division, a representative body corresponding to the general convention of national unions, one national headquarters, and one set of general officers who represent all the branches in common. In addition to decreased office expenses, economy is gained in the publication of one official journal representing the whole industry in place of the fifteen independent journals which would probably follow independent organization along craft lines.

Agreements -

The industrial union agreement with employers differs from the ordinary trade union agreement in certain important particulars. Under a system of pure trade unionism one group of workers in a factory or shop makes definite arrangements independently of other workers in the same

place. Let us assume that the other trades in the factory or shop are working under similar agreements regulating wages, hours, and other conditions of employment, but these separate agreements will terminate at different times. In case one trade decides to strike, this action of itself does not affect any associated trade because the agreement of the latter is still in force and has not been violated by the employer. Thus a general strike in that factory or shop is inadmissible if the separate agreements are to be maintained. A condition consequently arises in which union men are working for an employer while their fellow craftsmen are out on strike.(1) In this way the men who continue at work are practically helping to break the strike.(2) On the other hand, industrial organizations present a solid front to the employer, and in place of negotiating with representatives of various callings, the employer deals with one set of men who are empowered to sign one contract binding on all his employes. This uniform action on the

(1) To illustrate the point more clearly, the presidents of the various Philadelphia employers' associations in the building trades Dec., 1903, adopted a resolution 'that all existing agreements (expiring at different times) continue until they regularly expire, but that no agreement be entered into with labor organizations that will admit of the sympathetic strike.' - Amer. Labor Union Journal, Dec. 31, 1903.

(2) This subject is more fully discussed under the head of "Strikes".

part of the wage earner strengthens the general executive board and places it in a position to exact better terms from the employer. The Brewery Workmen, or the Mine Workers, for instance, with one central office and represented by one executive authority, may command in theory greater respect at the hands of the employers than single trades-unions.

One exception to the general encouragement of agreements with employers appears in the case of the Western Federation of Miners.(1) Secretary Haywood in an interview with the writer denounced all agreements which extend over any length of time. Agreements, he claims, are the means whereby the position of the employer is materially strengthened. Men can be thrown out of work at any time without any corresponding redress. The great strike of 1903-04 in the Cripple Creek region according to this opinion would have been settled in a very few weeks had not the trainmen and railroad employes, bound by time agreements, remained at work. Following this thought a little farther and an-

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(1) "We have been informed that in some cases where settlement has been made by officers or committees of local unions, contracts or agreements have been entered into for a specified period of time. This is a violation of the constitution inasmuch as these contracts have not been submitted to the executive board, and as a consequence are null and void. We discourage and discountenance the contract system believing it to be detrimental to the best in-

ticipating to some extent the discussion of strikes, we see the real efficiency of the industrial union as an instrument of coercion. It is not the strike itself that makes the employer more willing to yield to demands, but the potential power to inaugurate a general strike which affects not one branch only but his whole industry. The chief advantage gained by industrialism in this respect is the recognition by the employer that demands must be heeded and an understanding reached. Every agreement made under these conditions is the culmination of a peaceful strike or as one labor leader has styled it, a "theoretical strike." (1) As a recent expression of opinion on this subject from a representative organization, we may reproduce in part a resolution passed by the Missouri Federation of Labor at the convention of 1904.

"Whereas, With the rapid development of modern machinery and the concentration of industries, the division and sub-division of labor into many crafts whereby the lines of demarcation between trades are rendered less and less, in

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terest of the organization." Rept. exec. board to 11th Annual convention, W.F.of L. Miners' Mag., July,1903.pp.27-28

(1) As the employers become organized it requires a higher degree of intelligence and greater powers of leadership on the part of labor representatives. Where employers are confronted by one authorized committee representing all employes, as in the Mine Workers, instead of one trade only, as would be the case if the mine engineer or the mine black

time results in an ever increasing number of labor disputes over the jurisdiction of members.

Resolved, That the 18th Annual Convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor declare in favor of the extension and expansion of industrial form of organization .... under which the monopolist class can no longer tie up many unions with as many different contracts, all expiring at different times as is now being done." (1)

The chief advantage of the industrial agreement to employers is the maintenance of uniform conditions in his working force. In those trades especially where competition extends over a wide market, the agreement equalizes in a large measure the cost of production. Where wages, hours and other conditions are uniform under the terms of a national agreement in different sections of the country, one employer or group of employers may not gain a differential advantage over competitors by reducing hours, working his men over time or employing other methods to cheapen production at the expense of his workmen. In Industries like coal smith had separate trade organizations the strategic position of the employes is considerably strengthened. - See Industrial Commission Report, XIX., p.844.
Ind.Com.Rept.,v.VII., Donnelly's Testimony.

(1) Railway Employes' Journal, May, 1904.

mining, for instance, in which competition in the product covers a wide area, the employers tend to form organizations for the purpose of establishing uniform conditions. In Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania, for example, employers' associations of coal operators have been formed. The Illinois Coal Operators' Association, organized in 1897 has adopted a system of agreements with the unions calculated to further arbitration of all differences and prevent strikes. The main objects of the association are declared to be "to negotiate and make effective agreements with labor organizations fixing wages and conditions of employment in and about the coal mines of Illinois, and to prepare statistics of the coal industry."(1) The Illinois State Agreement provides for a pit committee whose duty it is to adjust disputes between the pit boss and members of a local union. In case of failure to adjust the difficulty the question is referred to the superintendent of the company and the president of the miners' local executive board. Should these officials fail to settle it, the superintendent of the company and the president of the miners' sub-dis-

(1) Constitution Illinois Coal Operators'Association, 1901, Art. II.

trict are called in, and if necessary, the officials of the company and the state officials of the United Mine Workers Union decide on the merits of the case. Pending a decision in all cases, the miners must remain at work.(1)

An inter-state contract entered into March 21, 1904 to remain in force from April 1, 1904 to March 31, 1906, between the operators of the competitive coal fields of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, on the one hand, and the United Workers on the other, provides that any internal differences in the states or districts shall be referred to local committees for adjustment. Somewhat similar provisions appear in the agreement between the Longshoremen's Association and some of the employers on the Great Lakes, where any particular dispute or minor trouble is settled by arbitrators selected by the local union and the employer immediately concerned.

Aside from the arbitration clauses in industrial union agreements, the most important terms deal with (a) wage scales, (b) hours of work, and (c) other conditions of employment. In many agreements the various departments of the industry are enumerated with the corresponding rate of

(1) Illinois State Agreement, 1904-06. Illinois Coal Operators' Association and United Mine Workers of America, pp. 16-171.

wages for each department or line of work. The agreement made between the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes and the Rock Island System in New Mexico, in force from April 1, 1904 to April 1, 1905, is a good example of this activity. Article VIII. of the agreement declares: "the following will govern the rate of wages in the different departments.

Carpenter department:

Carpenters and pilotmen shall receive thirty cents per hour,

Carpenters' helpers shall receive twenty-two and a half cents per hour.

Car department:

Freight car carpenters, thirty cents per hour,

Car repairers and truckmen, twenty-five cents per hour.

Airmen and steam-pipe men shall receive thirty cents per hour, etc.

Shop Employes:

Foremen of Truck gang, thirty cents per hour,

Painters shall receive twenty-five and thirty cents per hour.

Stationary Engineers shall receive twenty-seven and one-half cents per hour, etc. (1)

(1) Railway Employes' Journal, Vol.6, no. 8, April, 1904.

It is claimed by the advocates of the industrial form that under normal conditions higher wages are maintained under the industrial agreement than under the usual trade agreement. Thus the international secretaries of the United Brewery Workmen, replying to the efforts of the Teamsters' Industrial Union to absorb the beer drivers, have declared: "We know from experience that the Teamsters cannot command the wages and conditions which our brewery drivers now enjoy."(1)

The hours of work are usually regulated by a specific declaration in the industrial agreement.

The Illinois State Agreement for 1904-1906 referred to above contains the following provision (page 15) "The scale of mining prices is based upon an eight-hour work day exclusive of noon-time, six days a week, or 48 hours in the week, provided the operator desires the mine to work." and again, (p. 24) "All classes of day labor are to work full eight hours and the going to and coming from the respective working places is to be done on the day hands' own time."

One advantage of industrial agreements appears whenever the union wishes to establish any custom applying to entire plants. For exam-

(1) Braur Zeitung, Sept. 17, 1904.

ple, a rule generally observed in the formation of local agreements between employers and brewery workmen provides for the "lay off" system, which requires that all men be laid off in rotation. Several local unions, however, experiencing difficulty in carrying out this plan provide in their contracts for stopping work in the brewery an hour or so in the winter season. Other unions find it better to agree with the brewers to shut down the brewery one day in the week in order to keep the regular supply of men at work in dull business periods.

Whatever the local custom may be, the International Union, United Brewery Workmen, in imposing this rule on the locals has one purpose in view - that all members shall be employed regularly, and all members shall share alike in the reduction of the working force due to decreased business activity.(1) Another feature in most agreements in the brewing industry is a provision for a union labor bureau through which employers agree to obtain additional workmen. A typical section is as follows: "From and after the date

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(1) An illustration of one lay-off system is found in the fifth section of the New York beer brewers' agreement, 1900. "To avoid discharge during the winter season the workmen shall be laid off in rotation impartially for one week, (or all men shall stop for one day in the week)." Bulletin, New York Bureau of Labor, June, 1900. Ind. Com. Report, Vol. XVII., p. 111.

of this agreement no brewers or maltsters shall be employed who are not members in good standing of Brewers and Maltsters' Union No. 6, St. Louis, Mo., and the Brewery Workmen's National Union, and all brewers and maltsters shall as heretofore, be engaged through the labor bureau of the above-mentioned organization." (1) Formerly employment was obtained through independent agencies whose personal interests lay in creating as many vacancies as possible in order to get the usual bonus for refilling them.

Union Label -

Closely related to the general subject of agreement ~~in many industries~~ is the union label, since the most important article of agreements in certain industries regulates the use of this trade device.

In the industrial form of organization, a decided advantage is gained over the trade-union type in the use of the label. The union label on the product of the brewery stamps it as a union product throughout. On the other hand if separate unions control the engineers, the maltsters, the beer drivers, etc., and each has its own label ~~and~~ unavoid-

(1) Industrial Commission Report, 1901, Vol. XVII., p.410.

able difficulties are sure to arise. Although a common label might be agreed upon in this case the conflict of authority among the separate officials of different national unions would be a source of constant friction.(1) If the label stands for the combined work of all in the industrial group, and its control is vested in one central authority, greater effectiveness is the result. The stronger executive is better able to spread the influence of the label, while the uniformity in design makes counterfeiting more difficult.

Typical clauses in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union Stamp contract follow. "The Union agrees to furnish its Union stamp to the employer free of charge, to make no additional price for the use of the stamp, to make all reasonable effort to advertise the union stamp, and to create a demand for the union stamped products of the employer in common with other employers using the union stamp.

The employer agrees that he will not cause or allow the union stamp to be placed on any goods not made in the factory for which the use of the union stamp was granted.

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(1) Another difficulty presents itself in the use of separate labels where different branches are equally responsible for a completed product. If the label of but one branch is placed upon an article there is no guarantee that the product is made wholly by union labor. As a matter of fact certain branches might be non-union.

The Union agrees that no person except the general president or his deputy upon his written order shall have the right to demand or receive the union stamp from the employer."(1)

Strikes -

Every agreement signed is practically a step in the direction of fewer strikes. But it does not do away with the probability of a strike occurring at any time. A real or fancied violation of any terms in the agreement is sufficient ground for a strike. The relation between agreements and strikes is illustrated by the system employed in the brewing industry. The United Brewery Workmen grant to local executive boards among other powers the right to sign agreements. The boss brewers of St. Louis in 1902 were willing to make a contract covering all the branches in the industry except the engineers and firemen. But the remaining branches refused to have their own contracts signed unless the engineers and firemen were given equal consider-

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(1) Industrial Commission Report, 1901, Vol. XVII., pp. 409-10. For complete text of the agreement made between W.L.Douglas Shoe Company and the Boot and Shoe Workers, see A.F.of L. Report of Proceedings, 1898, p.103.

ation, and upon this principle the employers and employes finally reached a settlement. If, on the contrary, the workmen had failed to get their demands, the next step would have been a call for a general mass-meeting of all brewery workers. To this assembly committees representing the different branches in making the agreements would have presented their reports. The organizations immediately concerned would have then asked for the support of the whole membership in pressing their claims, and a vote on the question would have been taken. A two-thirds' majority by secret ballot in favor of general support to the aggrieved branches would have involved the whole brewery in a strike. In practice, however, a compromise is usually arranged unless one side is strongly determined to oppose the other. (1) Another example illustrating the manner in which an industrial union inaugurates a strike may be taken from the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes. In approaching a trouble, grievances are presented to the railroad management for ad-

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(1) A typical declaration of a strike is the following which appears in the official journal of the miners' union

Suspend Work, April 21, at noon!
Let every miner in America Stop!
Notice Miners:
General Office United Mine Workers of America,
Columbus, Ohio, AprL 14th, 1894.

The National Convention of the United Mine Workers of America on April 11th unanimously adopted the following:

justment by the local grievance committee of the union involved. Say the particular difficulty affects the railroad firemen. The committee then reports back to the firemen's meeting and there the proposal of the management is either accepted or rejected. If the terms are not approved, the grievance is carried to the local division or lodge composed of all members of the railway service in the immediate locality. It is by them referred to the general executive committee composed of the chairmen of each local adjustment committee,- 15 men in all, including one man from each department of the service. A two-thirds' vote of this committee decides whether the grievance shall be recognized by the union. If the railroad management still refuses to adjust the differences, final action is taken by the membership of the division to decide whether a general strike shall be called. To extend the strike over the whole Brotherhood, a referendum vote of the entire membership is

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Resolved, That on and after Saturday noon, April 21, 1894, no coal shall be mined in that part of the United States and Territories, governed by our organization until such time as our general officers and national executive board shall order the miners to resume work."
The United Mine Workers' Journal, Vol. IV., No. 2.

necessary. In following these well defined channels before a legal strike may be entered upon, the unions are in line with the general tendency to avoid strikes as far as possible by thus placing effective checks to impetuous action. Even the Western Federation of Miners, the most belligerent of the industrial unions places certain checks upon strikes. The Constitution declares: "It shall be unlawful for any union to enter upon a strike unless ordered by three-fourths of its resident members in good standing."(1) Extraordinary power is given in this connection to the general executive board as the following section shows; "In case of a strike being in progress regularly ordered by the union and the executive board, and in the opinion of the president and the executive board it becomes necessary to call out any other union or unions in order to carry out the strike to a successful termination, that they shall have full power to do so."(2)

(1) Constitution, 1903, Western Federation of Unions, Art. V., Sec. 1.

(2) Ibid., Sec. 2. When the great strike was declared in the Cripple Creek district in August, 1903, the business men issued an ultimatum that the striking miners must pay cash for their merchandise. In retaliation the Western Federation of Miners established four cooperative stores which proved so successful that other enterprises were contemplated throughout the Order.

In June, 1904, occurred the explosion at the Independence station and thenceforth the whole district experienced a reign of terror. Property belonging to the various unions was destroyed, and the cooperative stores at Victor,

In the foregoing examples one fact is prominent, namely, the power lodged in the central authority to bring all parts of the organization to the aid of any one part. Thus a strike of the firemen at the mines, or even the firemen on a particular railroad, may cause little inconvenience to employers, but a strike of all workmen in their employ resulting in a tie up of the whole industry is a serious blow to business activity. Looking at the subject in a little different way, the engineer of a locomotive for instance who works with a non-union crew during a strike of the firemen aids in defeating the strike. While the engineers are justified from a narrow, selfish standpoint in remaining at their posts so long as they are strong enough to force concessions to their own demands, they are not justified in doing so, the industrialists claim, if they believe the greatest good to the greatest number is the real purpose of the labor movement. The United Brotherhood of Railway Employes is in theory based on the latter princi-

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Goldfield, Anaconda, and Cripple Creek established by the Western Federation of Miners were entered, contents demolished or carried away, and a loss of thousands of dollars was incurred by the Federation. - Miners' Magazine, Vol.V. No. 32.

ple, and strives to use the strong unions in support of the weak ones. Thus some departments of the railway service, notably the engineers or the trainmen, have strong organizations, while other departments like the trackmen are comparatively weak, and lack the necessary vitality to bargain on an equal footing with employers. The United Brotherhood officials claim therefore by placing in the hands of a central executive general supervision over all branches alike, the organization may act as a unit in any grievance against employers.(1)

The industrial union may be contrasted with the allied trade council in the conduct of strikes. Industrial unions as the United Brewery Workmen and the United Mine Workers have centralized administrative and financial systems. Under allied trade councils, like the International Building Trades Council and the Metal Trades Federation, each trade strike is financed and conducted by the national union of the trade,- a strike of the carpenters, for example, is supported by the international union which has

(1) It is worthy of note that the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes is similar in many respects to the old American Railway Union, but it has two important differences, 1st, in the autonomy granted the different departments to regulate their own trade affairs, and 2d. in the less autocratic power delegated to the executive board.

a national treasury apart from the national trades Council. Consequently, any constitutional power which may be exercised by the council over other unions is partly neutralized by the weakness of its finances. The truth of this statement is largely conceded by the most able leaders who are generally united in the opinion that "in the absence of a strike benefit fund, the national organization has practically has no discipline over the local bodies." On the other hand, the presence of a central treasury from which strikers may derive ample assistance is sufficient guarantee that the national officers can assume entire control over the strike and regulate the locals at all stages. This fact serves to emphasize the efficiency of industrial unions in strikes since a strong treasury is an important element in their systems of finance.

In theory there is no reason why the allied trade council may not accumulate a large defence fund and use it as a club over the heads of recalcitrant locals. Practical difficulties, however, prevent the accumulation of large funds. Among important reasons may be cited (a) the national trade unions composing the council maintain independent treasuries to which their locals contribute, (b) the officers of a national union are often jealous of the pow-

ers conferred on the executive of a trades council and will limit the available funds. (c) the expense pertaining to the administration of each trade-union serves to diminish the surplus income available for the treasury of the council. On the other hand the industrial union, with one national office requiring a relatively smaller office force, and one journal for the whole industry, gains considerable economy in administration, and at the same time through the maintenance of a large central treasury, does not lose any degree of administrative efficiency.

Another advantage which the industrial union seems to have over the allied trade council is in the use of general in contrast to sympathetic strikes, the weapon of the trade council. The distinction briefly stated is, a general strike occurs when all members involved have a common grievance. A sympathetic strike involves trade unionists who have no personal grievance and act merely out of sympathy with the grievance of their fellow workmen. For instance, a strike of the maltsters in the brewery supported by the various branches represented in the United Brewery Workmen; as the engineers, the beer drivers, etc., is a general strike. All brewery employes working under a common agreement with the boss brewers are equally interested

in keeping the terms of the agreement inviolate. If the terms referring to the molisters are not observed by the employers, the engineers, the beer drivers and other parties to the agreement have grievances as well as the molisters. The knowledge of this fact makes the employer more cautious in provoking an industrial strike. In so far as the allied trade council has a common agreement the strike directed by it is a general one also. On the other hand, where carpenters, bricklayers, electrical workers, etc., employed on a building under separate agreements go out on strike to help any one of the other trades, the movement becomes sympathetic in character.

Overlooking this distinction between general and sympathetic strikes has perhaps led to the following opinion: "The so-called industrial system of organization implies sympathetic strikes, and these time and experience have demonstrated, that as a general proposition they should be discarded, while strikes of particular trades or callings have had the largest number of successes with a minimum of defeats.

By its methods one of our international organizations would be financially drained and actually ruined in a very brief period in an effort to sustain the members in-

volved, while a well formulated trade union movement could be indefinitely sustained financially. The advocates of industrialism undertake to correct an error by the commission of a graver one."(1)

Boycott -

More or less closely related to the strike as an instrument of coercion is the boycott demanding for its effective use (a) sufficient influence over the purchasing power of union members, and (b) sufficient numerical strength to make the boycott have an appreciable effect on consumption. The Knights of Labor as an organization satisfied in theory both these requirements, for it exerted the necessary control over the membership which represented at the same time a large purchasing power in the community. The American Federation of Labor may not have the same influence perhaps to enforce a boycott, but it exercises considerable weight through personal influence and through the columns of its monthly journal, the American Federationist.

Estimated according to the conditions just stated as necessary to the success of a boycott, the industrial union in structure is better fitted to use the boycott than the trade union. A comprehensive organization like the Brewery

(1) A.F. of L. Report of Proceedings, 1903, President's

Workmen, including different branches of the industry, can bring greater pressure to bear on an opposing employer for several reasons: (a) The central executive is the supreme administrative authority for the different trades represented and may direct a boycott over a wider class area. (b) Other things being equal, the industrial principle embraces under one head a greater proportion of the purchasing power in a given community.(1)

In the use of the boycott labor journals play the most important part. The firms against whom these organizations have grievances are placed on an unfair list and published in the several union weeklies or monthlies. In the columns of these publications also are printed fac similes of the label used on union-made goods in order to acquaint the public with the design.(2) The last few years have witnessed marked activity in the extension of the label among

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Report. The policy here favored is the successive strike (see under chap.III., Functions of General Federations). This is absent under the industrial form of organization since a strike involves a general shut down of the shop, factory, or mine.

(1) A further development of the boycott occurs when the industrial union refuses to handle the material unless it is purchased from union firms. A trade union cannot make such a demand of the employer since it represents only a portion of his working staff.

(2) Another form of boycott less direct but oftentimes productive of more permanent good is the exclusive patron-

certain unions closely resembling the industrial type, notably the United Hatters, the United Garment Workers and the Boot and Shoe Workers.(1)

Political Activity -

Mention has been made in several places of the superior strategic position of the industrial union over the trade union in negotiating with employers. One element in that superiority seemed to be the control exercised by the central authority over a larger and more representative class in a single locality. The same causes underlying the greater strength in bargaining power with employers, in strikes, in boycotting, in the use of the label, etc., operate to make the industrial union a factor in political activity. Certain types like the United Mine Workers and [illegible] age of union labelled products. Such articles as hats, shoes, cigars and tobacco, ready made clothing and beer are largely consumed by the laboring classes; and it is principally in these articles that machinery is playing a growing part and the proportion of unskilled to skilled is rapidly increasing. Hence the apparent advantage of the industrial union.

(1) "There are two kinds of organization that deserve our consideration. First, we should organize as producers; second, and of no less importance we should organize as consumers. In order that our members may more thoroughly familiarize themselves with the labels of the various trades, I would recommend that our national secretary be instructed to procure and transmit to each local union a card or pamphlet bearing fac similes of the labels of the various organizations. Report, Proceedings, Fifteenth An-

the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes prefer to hold aloof from party political affiliation and to direct their attention to the candidate or the measure rather than to the party.(/) Other unions, the Western Federation of Miners, and the United Brewery Workers in particular, are actively engaged in advancing the interests of labor through political affiliation. To make successful any political activity on the part of labor organizations certain conditions are necessary. Among the most important are (a) a vigorous central executive composed of men who are broad minded, and who represent a progressive spirit. (b) A comprehensive membership, one large enough to include a considerable portion of the laboring classes in a political division. (c)A membership that may be depended upon to work and vote as a unit.

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nual convention, United Mine Workers of America - President's Report, p.35.

(/) To illustrate the activity of the more conservative industrial unions the following is given -

"There are two bills pending in the United States Congress which deserve and should receive the endorsement of this convention, and the active support of all local unions. They are the Anti-Injunction Bill and the Eight-Hour Bill. I would recommend that the national secretary be instructed to ascertain the exact status of these bills, to secure their proper number and titles and to send a circular letter containing information to each of our local unions, with such instructions as will enable our members collectively and individually to petition their representatives in Congress to vote for these measures." Fifteenth Ann.Conv. U.M.Workers, 1904, President's Rept.pp.33-[illegible],171

The Brewery Workmen and Western Federation of Miners as organizations seem by their history to have fulfilled these conditions. Their written constitutions show a conscious effort on the part of the founders to form a structure that may be used to advance political interests. Again a unity of sentiment is obtained by adopting the principles of socialism, and directing all efforts to the final establishment of the socialistic state. A good idea of the general view held by these unions is obtained from the following extract taken from an article which appeared in one of the official journals.

"The United Brewery Workmen have from the beginning affiliated themselves with the radical wing of the labor movement represented by the socialist party. They have realized the passing of strikes and boycotts as means of permanent reforms and have advocated the ballot to overthrow capitalism. Any reform under the capitalist system is at best temporary and merely patchwork. So long as the present system of industry continues, strikes and boycotts are necessary evils, to be removed as soon as economic and political forces join hand in hand in a common movement. Socialism, the union of industrial and political forces, is the result of maladjustment in the present system of produc

tion.[1] Another opinion comes from the president of the Western Federation of Miners.

"The most important action which you can take at this Convention is to advise the members of your organization to adopt the principles of socialism without equivocation ... I earnestly hope that the members of the Western Federation of Miners and the members of all other labor organizations will in the immediate future meet in convention for the purpose of taking political action regardless of the dominant political parties in either country, for no member of organized labor can be a true member of a labor organization and a member of the Republican, Democratic, Conservative, or Liberal parties, and I suggest that this convention extend an invitation to all labor organizations to meet in convention for the purpose of outlining a plan by which we can unite for political action."[2]

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(1) Brauer Zeitung, Feb. 22, 1896.

(2) Report of Proceedings 10th Annual Convention, 1902. Western Federation of Miners, Report of the President. Again, in a report of the executive board two years later we read: "The experience of the past as recorded in the history of all organizations shows us plainly and conclusively that the strike and boycott are but primitive and crude methods for the settlement of controversies between employer and employe.... and we feel it a duty to recommend that independent political action be the slogan of the wage earner, as we see in this alone the solution of the problem." Report of the executive board, 12th Ann. Conv. Western Federation of Miners.

Finally, at the same session, the delegates adopted

Benefit Features -

Allied trade Councils as we have seen leave the insurance of their members largely to the national unions of the different trades. The industrial union in this respect resembles closely the ordinary trade union, since the national executive is the only organization to which the industrial unionists may look, and consequently the latter depend upon it for certain financial aid.

Probably the most important feature in industrial unions is the strike benefit paid out of the defense fund, or if a special fund is not provided for out of the general treasury. The United Brewery Workmen will pay to those on strike duly authorized by the international executive board an amount determined by the number of men on strike and the amount of money in the treasury, but the maximum strike benefit for each man per week is the sum of $5.00.(1) It is the duty of each local union to levy assessments upon those members who remain at work for the support of the strikers.(2) The Uni-

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the following resolution :

"Resolved, that we recommend the Socialist Party to the working masses as the only source through which they can secure for themselves complete emancipation from the present system of wage-slavery." 12 Annual Convention Western Federation of Miners.

(1) Constitution, United Brewery Workmen, 1904, Art. X. Sec. 5.

(2) Constitution, 1904, Art. X., Sec. 3.

ted Mine Workers have had a varied experience with regard to a strike fund. In the great strikes of 1900 the general executive board assessed the membership 25 cents per month from March to November. The amounts collected under this tax, $173,629, was but 44.4 % of the sum due according to the report of membership turned in by the local mine workers' unions. The convention of 1900 gave the executive board power to enforce special assessments, and adopted a tentative plan to be voted upon by the membership for a defense fund available only in case of future strikes. As the total vote on the establishment of this defense fund was less than 30 % of the total membership, and the affirmative vote less than 20 %, it was deemed advisable to hold the matter in abeyance until the following convention. At this convention, 1901, the defense fund proposal was defeated.(1)

A characteristic feature of the strike benefit common to the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, the Western Federation of Miners and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, is the payment into the treasury of the American Labor Union a fund to be used exclusively for strike pur-

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(1) Industrial Commission Report, Vol. XVII. p. 187.

poses. The clause in the American Labor Union Constitution reads: All national or international unions, united with the American Labor Union shall pay into the general treasury five cents per member per month to be turned into the defense fund and used only for the purpose of conducting strikes and paying strike benefits.(1)

Other benefits, such as out of work, sick, superannuation, death, etc., are not carried on to any large extent by industrial unions. The nationals allow the local unions to make such provision as their condition warrants without interference from the central executive. In two cases, however, insurance benefits form a considerable part of national activity. The United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, as we have seen, had its origin in an attempt to establish a relief department among members in the railway service. There is a separate division known as the "Benefit Department" of the Brotherhood. The admission fee of members is $2.50 with a medical examiner's charge of $1.50. Each member pays until he reaches the age of 70 a monthly assessment in proportion to his age and to the amount of benefits payable, and also in proportion to the mortuary or

(1) Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IX., Sec. 1.

disability risk of his occupation.[1] Two schedules of payment are arranged for, designated as "The Annuity Plan," and the "Pension Plan", and all members are classed according to the character of their work as Preferred, Hazardous, and Extra-Hazardous. In the preferred class are conductors train baggage masters, and brakemen employed on passenger trains exclusively. The hazardous class consists of the following: Trainmen, engine men, switchmen, yard masters, yardmen, stone-cutters, elevator-men, grinders of edged tools, pilot-men, quarrymen, telegraph linemen, etc. Finally, in the extra hazardous class are all persons engaged in blasting or mining, also buzz, band, circular, and gang sawyers, etc.[2] Each member of the corporation is entitled to disability or death benefits upon monthly payments at the following rates per $1,000 of benefits:[3]

There is also a local benefit fund in the Brotherhood which insures a small income to members who may become unable to work through sickness, acident, or other causes. The members pay into the fund fifty cents per month and in case of sickness they receive $7.00 per week for 13 weeks

(1) Constitution O.R.R.F., 1902, Art. IX., Secs. 1 and 2.
(2) Ibid., Sec. 3.
(3) See p. 47a

| Age | Annuity Plan | | | Pension Plan. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Preferred | Hazardous | Extra Hazardous | Preferred | Hazardous | Extra Hazardous |
| 18 | 0.48 | .63 | .70 | .76 | .90 | 1.20 |
| 19 | .48 | .63 | .70 | .78 | . 2 | 1.22 |
| 20 | .48 | .63 | .70 | .80 | .94 | 1.22 |
| 21 | .48 | .63 | .70 | .82 | .96 | 1.26 |
| 22 | .51 | .66 | .73 | .84 | .98 | 1.28 |
| 23 | .53 | .68 | .75 | .86 | 1.00 | 1.30 |
| 24 | .55 | .70 | .77 | .90 | 1.64 | 1.34 |
| 25 | .57 | .72 | .79 | .94 | 1.08 | 1.38 |
| 26 | .59 | .74 | .81 | .98 | 1.12 | 1.42 |
| 27 | .62 | .77 | .84 | 1.02 | 1.16 | 1.46 |
| 28 | .64 | .79 | .86 | 1.06 | 1.20 | 1.50 |
| 29 | .66 | .81 | .88 | 1.10 | 1.24 | 1.54 |
| 30 | .69 | .84 | .91 | 1.14 | 1.30 | 1.60 |
| 31 | .72 | .87 | .94 | 1.18 | 1.36 | 1. |
| 32 | .74 | .87 | .96 | 1.22 | 1.42 | 1.72 |
| 33 | .76 | .91 | .98 | 1.26 | 1.48 | 1.78 |
| 34 | .78 | .93 | 1.02 | 1.32 | 1.54 | 1.84 |
| 35 | .80 | .95 | 1.04 | 1.38 | 1.60 | 1.90 |
| 36 | .83 | .98 | 1.07 | 1.44 | 1.66 | 1.96 |
| 37 | .85 | 1.00 | 1.10 | 1.50 | 1.72 | 2.02 |
| 38 | .87 | 1.02 | 1.12 | 1.56 | 1.78 | 2.08 |
| 39 | .89 | 1.04 | 1.14 | 1.62 | 1.84 | 2.14 |
| 40 | .91 | 1.06 | 1.16 | 1.68 | 1.90 | 2.20 |
| 41 | .94 | 1.09 | 1.20 | 1.76 | 2.00 | 2.30 |
| 42 | .97 | 1.12 | 1.23 | 1.84 | 2.10 | 2.40 |
| 43 | .99 | 1.14 | 1.25 | 1.92 | 2.20 | 2.50 |
| 44 | 1.01 | 1.16 | 1.28 | 2.00 | 2.30 | 2.60 |
| 45 | 1.03 | 1.18 | 1.30 | 2.08 | 2.40 | 2.70 |
| 46 | 1.06 | 1.21 | 1.33 | 2.18 | 2.54 | 2.90 |
| 47 | 1.08 | 1.23 | 1.35 | 2.32 | 2.74 | 3.10 |
| 48 | 1.10 | 1.25 | 1.37 | 2.50 | 2.94 | 3.30 |
| 49 | 1.15 | 1.35 | 1.50 | 2.70 | 3.14 | 3.50 |
| 50 | 1.25 | 1.45 | 1.60 | 2. 0 | 3.34 | 3.80 |

Note. Constitution U. R. R. W. 1902, Art. IX., Sec. 7.

and $6.50 per week for 13 additional weeks. In case of death the members are given a funeral benefit amounting to $75.00.[1] The other industrial union paying considerable attention to insurance benefits is the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. This union provides for out of work benefits, sick benefits, accident benefits, funeral benefits and superannuation benefits.[2]

The following table gives the amounts paid out in benefits in the United States and Canada for the ten years ending with 1897 and for 1899 alone.

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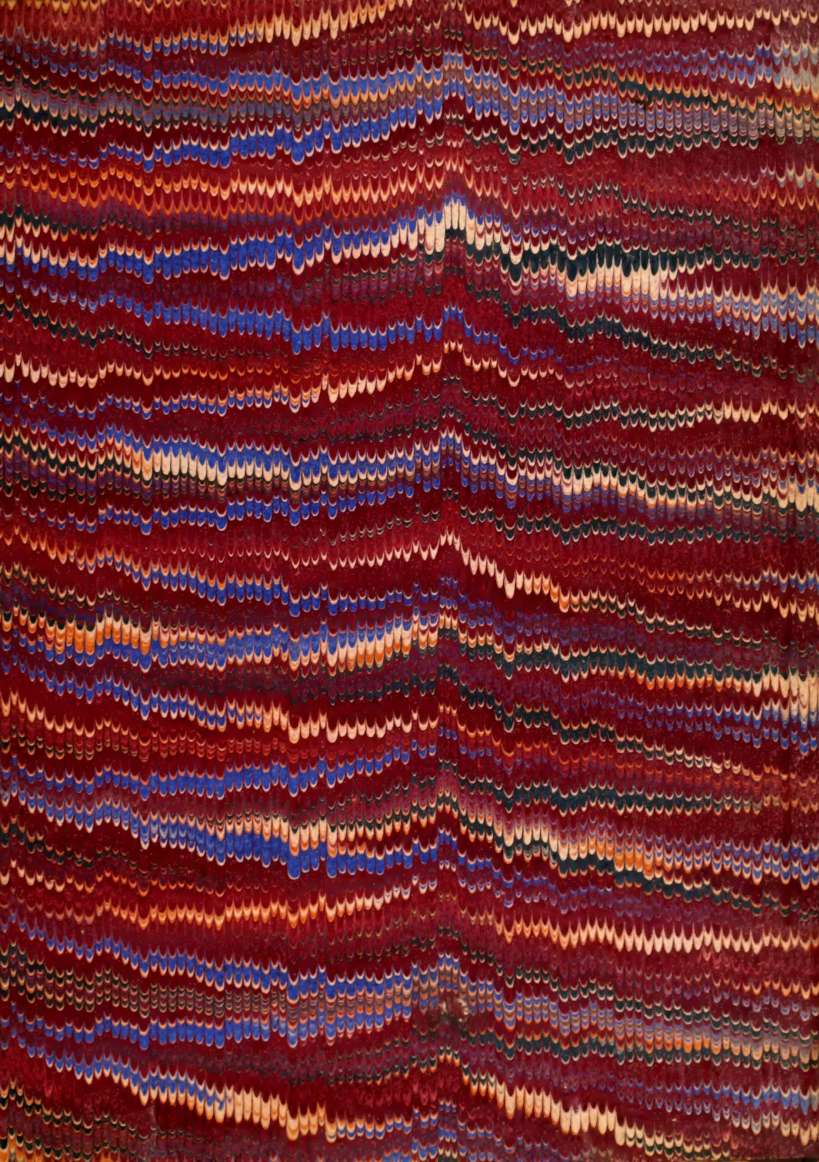
(1) Railway Employes' Journal, Vol. III., No. 20.
(2) Superannuation benefits though largely in use in Great Britain, are not general among American unions.

| | 10 years ending with 1899 | 1899 |
|---|---|---|
| Unemployed, | $ 90,325 | $ 9,223 |
| Sick | 61,570 | 6,157 |
| Superannuation | 130,350 | 13,065 |
| Funeral | 20,750 | 2.092 |
| Special Relief | 3,000 | .300 |
| Loving of Tools | 200 | 42 |
| Assistance for other trades, | 4,500 | 440 |
| | $310.695 | $31,321 |

As an interesting parallel, the annual report of the English Amalgamated Society of Engineers for 1901 showed the following expenditures for benefits: (1)

| | | per member |
|---|---|---|
| | s d | s d |
| Donation, Contingent, etc., | 59601 - 5 - 11 | 13 - 1 1/4 |
| Sick | 47897 - 8 - 11 | 10 - 6 1/2 |
| Superannuation | 90389 - 5 - 11 | 19 - 10 1/2 |
| Accident | 1592 - 10 - 3 | 4 |
| Funeral | 14326 -17 - 7 | 3 - 1 3/4 |

(1) Industrial Commission Report, Vol. XVII., p.226
(2) Report fifty-first annual Amalgamated Society of Engineers, 1901, p. 39.

VITA.

William Kirk was born in Baltimore, Maryland, May 7, 1880. He received his early education in the public schools of his native city, and was graduated from the Baltimore City College in 1899. In the fall of that year he entered the Johns Hopkins University, pursued the Historical- Political group of studies, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June, 1902. He returned to the University in October as a graduate student in Economics, Political Science, and History, became Scholar in Economics for 1902 - 1903, and Fellow in Economics for 1903 - 1904. During the third year of his graduate work, he was Fellow by Courtesy, and served as Assistant in Economics in the Johns Hopkins University.